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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-216
Thursday
9 November 1989

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Warsaw Pact Chiefs of Staff Meet in Sofia

AU0211183089 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 2 (BTA)—The chiefs of the general staffs of the armies of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty held a meeting in Sofia from October 30 to November 2. The meeting was attended by the chief of staff of the joint armed forces.

The participants considered questions concerning the improvement of the joint armed forces to bring them in line with the requirements of the defensive military doctrine of the state parties to the Warsaw Treaty and of the national military doctrines.,

The meeting was held in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

Security Problems Discussed

AU0311204189 Sofia BTA in English
1850 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 3 (BTA)— November 2 through November 3 a meeting of the chiefs of the general staffs and the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member states was held in Sofia.

The meeting discussed questions of the course and prospects of the Vienna Talks on Conventional Armed Forces and Security and Confidence Building Measures, of the participation in the Vienna seminar on military doctrines, of the proposals for "open sky", as well as the openness in the sphere of military activity.

The meeting passed in businesslike and constructive atmosphere and the participants specified and concreticized the positions on the discussed problems. The chief of staff of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states and the leaders of the delegations of the Warsaw Treaty member states to the Vienna talks also took part in the meeting.

European Trade Union Cooperation Conference Ends

LD0511000689 Budapest MTI in English
1634 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 4 (MTI)—The two-day session of the Conference on the Cooperation of European Trade Unions drew to an end in Budapest on November 4. The resolutions of the session, hosted by the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, were made public at a press conference.

The delegates of the independent trade Unions of European countries passed a resolution renouncing all forms of state coercion on trade unions, and of trade unions' being used for the purposes of any political party. They stated their expectation that the Geneva-based International Labour Organization (ILO) would make more vigorous steps for the freedom of trade unions and their independence from parties. The participants called on the European Confederation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Employees, as well as other international organizations, to advocate and support the emergence of new free European trade unions, and condemn the violation of their freedom, first of all in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania and Bulgaria.

They passed a seperate resolution calling on the GDR's Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) to recognize the principle of independence from party policy and assert human and freedom rights, including the right to strike, as well as to support new trade union movements, such as the reform.

They launched the same call to the General Trade Union Confederation of Romanian with the addition that the union should stand up to Romanian state authorities for terminating the persecution of active and future independent trade unions.

At the press conference, the delegate of the Free Romanian Democratic Movement announced that they intended to organize an eight-day hunger strike on November 15 before the Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in protest to the re-election of Nicolae Ceausescu.

The next session of the Conference on the Cooperation of European Trade Unions will be held in Poland at the invitation of solidarity.

GDR Economic Delegation Visit Reported

Arrives 6 Nov

AU0711090189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] A government economic delegation of the GDR headed by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, arrived in our country today. The delegation was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidium of the Council of Ministers; Gani Cemo, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; and other comrades. Peter Schubert, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Today Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, received the government economic delegation of the GDR led by Horst Soelle. Pandi Carapuli, head of the General Department of the Mechanical Engineering Industry, and Gudar Toto, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also attended the reception. During the reception, Farudin Hoxha welcomed Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and views were exchanged on existing relations and the prospects for further consolidating cooperation in the fields of the economy and science and technology.

Talks also began this morning between the government economic delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Farudin Hoxha, and the GDR government economic delegation, led by Horst Soelle, in connection with the conclusion of the protocol for the first meeting of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation between our two countries.

Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, also received the GDR government economic delegation this morning. During this meeting, the the present state and further development of trading relations in various fields of mutual interest were discussed. Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, also received Horst Soelle, chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Soelle Visits Hoxha's Tomb

AU0711090389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, paid his respects today at the graves of the martyrs of the nation and the tomb of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He laid a wreath in front of the Mother Albania memorial and a bouquet of flowers on Comrade Enver Hoxha's tomb. He was accompanied at this ceremony by Zymber Sinani, secretary of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council, and Eduard Shehu, commander of the Tirana Garrison.

Carcani Receives Soelle

AU0711211389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the German Democratic Republic Council of State, and had a friendly talk with him.

During the meeting, after reviewing the positive achievements in the development of relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the GDR, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed the wish that these relations be further extended in the future, to the mutual benefit of our two countries and peoples. The protocol signed today between the governments of our two countries for economic, industrial, and technical-scientific cooperation, he stated, creates possibilities and opens up new prospects for the further development of these relations in the future. Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his respect for the people of the GDR and expressed best wishes for its progress. He mentioned the consistent and correct policy of our party and state in the country's socialist construction and its socioeconomic development, as well as our country's independent foreign policy in the defense of the aspirations of the people, their freedom, and independence.

Comrade Adil also noted the importance of the efforts to continue the process of Balkan cooperation, which serves to preserve peace and security in our region and beyond. He also spoke about some developments in the current international situation.

Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, thanked Comrade Adil Carcani for the cordial reception in Albania and spoke about his positive impressions from his visit, stressing that the people of the GDR cherish special sentiments of friendship for the Albanian people. My meetings with people in Albania were fruitful and will serve to further relations and cooperation in various fields of the economy between the two countries, he said.

The reception was also attended by Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, and Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs. Peter Schubert, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in Tirana was also present.

ADN Reports Meeting

LD0711221689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1843 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana (ADN)—In Tirana today Adil Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, and GDR Vice Premier Horst Soelle spoke in favor of the deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two states. Here the specific possibilities of the national economies of the two countries should be used to expand mutually advantageous economic relations.

As a result of the first meeting of the GDR-Albania joint commission, which ended today, tasks for long-term development of economic and trade relations were agreed upon.

In engineering, the chemical industry, light industry, and the food industry the partners agreed on measures for technological cooperation in the manufacture of various products and for the modernization of Albanian enterprises. The cooperation envisioned in the metal industry, ore mining, and the coal industry concerns the extracting, preparation, and processing of raw materials. Cooperation is to be expanded in light industry. Scientific- technical work in agriculture and the food industry was discussed, as were long-term imports by the GDR from Albania of agricultural products, including fruit and canned vegetables.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed

AU0711211989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] The protocol of the first session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical-Scientific Cooperation was signed today between the Governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the German Democratic Republic. The protocol was signed on the Albanian side by Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, and on the GDR side by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of State of the GDR.

According to the protocol, the two countries will develop economic, industrial, and technical-scientific cooperation in the fields of machine-building, electronics, electrical engineering, the chemical industry, metallurgy, mining, light industry, agriculture, the foodstuffs industry, transportation, and so forth.

The signing ceremony was attended by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and members of the two delegations. Peter Schubert, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in our country, was also present.

Delegation Departs 7 Nov

AU0711212189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] The economic government delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, left Albania today.

The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; Gani Qemo, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; and other comrades.

Peter Schubert, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR in our country, was also present.

During its stay in our country the GDR delegation visited socio-cultural and economic institutions in Berat District.

Radio Reports GDR Government's Resignation

AU0811200489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] As reported by ADN, the government of the GDR resigned yesterday. The agency states that this act took place under a background of serious contradictions, exacerbation of the crisis, and demonstrations throughout the country.

Wolfgang Meyr, government spokesman, is cited by ADN saying last evening at a press conference for foreign journalists in Berlin that the Council of Ministers will continue to carry out its tasks in conformity with the Constitution, until Parliament approves the present government's resignation and elects a new government.

ADN reports that the Socialist Unity Party Central Committee Politburo has also resigned. According to ADN, this was announced by the party's new leader, Egon Krenz, at the opening session of a 3-day Central Committee plenum, when he declared that this step is a clear reflection of the assumption of responsibility for the current state of affairs in the GDR.

ADN reports also that the Central Committee approved the resignation unanimously, adding that cadre problems will predominate in the discussions during the first day of the plenum.

The Tenth Socialist Unity Party Central Committee Plenum has elected a new Politburo and re-elected Egon Krenz as its general secretary, ADN reports.

Hans Modrow was elected as member of the Politburo and was proposed as new Prime Minister of the GDR.

'Failure of Revisionism' in East Europe Viewed

AU0511182289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Oct 89 p 3-4

[Shaban Murati article: "It Is Not Communism, But a Distortion of It, That Has Failed in Eastern Countries"]

[Text] The current crisis in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, etc., has caused major worries for the leaders of these countries, but has also created a lot of work for those circles in the West who more than 3 decades ago embarked on the strategy of the peaceful transformation of socialist countries. Their success in this strategy during this period continues to be evident in the developments we now see in some Eastern countries, but has at the same time also created many problems concerning the nature of the capitalist system and its models.

The large-scale failure of revisionism and the serious consequences of this have led these countries into a situation that discredits both the methods and the political and economic system they have borrowed from the capitalist West. In order to defend these methods and this political and economic system, an extensive campaign against socialism and communism is under way among political, diplomatic, and propaganda circles in the West, blaming socialism and communism for the chaos into which the countries of the East have sunk. They attempt to portray the crisis of revisionism to world public opinion as a crisis of socialism and communism and the death of the doctrine of Marx. "Recent events," the American observer William Lewis writes, "have enacted the final phase of the death of the most powerful ideology of the modern era, communism. In centuries to come, compilers of dictionaries will treat communism as we now treat alchemy." The American political scientist George Will states enthusiastically that "There are no Marxists left in the East, and only a few in Western universities."

By ascribing every evil to socialism, they think they have explained the meaning of the events and the origin of the severe crisis in the Soviet Union and other countries of the East. The first speculative premise, on which the entire edifice of the current campaign is built, is a portrayal of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe as communist countries. These countries took the capitalist road 30 years ago and the failure they are experiencing today is the failure of this road, as our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha predicted a long time ago. The propaganda about the crisis of communism being spread by the bourgeois West is being helped by the revisionists in these countries themselves, who also blame communism for their failures, and who are trying to persuade their own public of the necessity of a final breach with communism. The Soviet writer E. Dahina writes in the magazine MEMO that "It is now obvious: The supporters and spokesmen of the socialist alternative, the communist parties, have encountered a difficult crisis." The West is trying at all costs to defend its own models. It does not want the restoration of capitalism in the countries of Eastern Europe to bring its own political and economic philosophy into discredit. It is attempting to avoid such a thing by trying to depict the woes of capitalism as woes of socialism. The West's haute bourgeoisie is trying to come to the help of revisionism and the sterile political, economic, and statist hybrid that revisionism created.

It is understandable that the campaign against socialism should profit from the fact that the revolution is now in a phase of decline and has suffered a severe blow from the bourgeoisie and reaction. The currently observable ebb tide of the revolution is a transient phenomenon. The reasons for it include subjective factors, including the activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists and international reaction, and also objective factors, including social and economic processes which have failed to include the working masses of former socialist countries in any conscious fashion, and a failure of state structures to fully free themselves from an autocratic legacy inherited from the past. If these objective factors long ago helped the revisionists to come to power, they now permit the state to surrender to the most rightist anticommunist forces. This is a transfer of power between political forces who operate on the same antisocialist basis; all their illusions will have consequences.

The political crisis in the countries of Eastern Europe, as one of the main elements in the general crisis in these countries, has given a particular impetus to the campaign. This is not because the economic crisis in less serious; the economic crisis existed before, to just the same extent, but was not admitted under regimes of "stagnation" or "mature socialism," whereas it is now openly discussed in the Soviet Union and other countries as a result of glasnost. In the economic sphere, many reforms of the Kosygin and Kadar kind and so forth were undertaken, involving the privatization and decentralization of the economy. In the political sphere, the pace of reform was slower, and there were general efforts not to change the terminology of the socialist and communist facade of party and state structures. This gave rise to a kind of contradiction between political relations and structures on one hand and economic relations and structures on the other hand. The discrepancy between economic decentralization and the political and bureaucratic centralization of the state apparatus could not fail to lead to acute social problems. Under such circumstances, the wave of thorough capitalist political reforms broke. State monopolies did not produce the results that had been hoped for, and exisitng political structures were inadequate for the policy of private capitalism. This led to a deep political crisis and to radical political reforms aiming to bring political structures more into line with private economic models. In the Soviet Union, we see perestroyka and a reform of the political system creating an executive structure closer to that of the West, giving a greater role to the president and eliminating the role of the party, a process which has been slower than in other countries of the East because of Soviet political traditions. In Poland, the political crisis can be seen in the party's failure at the polls and the assumption of power after 40 years on Mazowiecki's Catholic government. In Hungary, the extraordinary congress dissolved the existing party and created a socialist party. It is understandable that political upheavals and reforms have not been evident to the same extent in all the countries of the East, despite the international bourgeoisie's pressure for Gorbachevite reforms, or reforms like those in Poland and Hungary, to be applied in other countries as well.

Apart from their particular characteristics, the political changes and reforms in the countries of the East have a common denominator. They show a tendency for the revisionist political system to approach and adapt to the Western political system. This is a process that Western political literature calls the "ideological homogenization" of mankind. "We are witnesses not only to the conclusion of a particular period of postwar history, but to the final conclusion of mankind's ideological evolution and the emergence of Western liberal democracy as mankind's ultimate form of government," writes the American professor Francis Fukuyama, a deputy director of the political planning section of the State Department. Soviet researchers also accept this. In an interview given a few days ago, Oleg Bogomolev, director of the Soviet Academy of Science's Institute of the World Socialist System, spoke of "the rapprochement and merging of socialism and capitalism." Western observers see the political reforms in the East as the yeast in this process of merging and ideological homogenization. According to Eric Hobsbawm, professor of economic and social history at the University of London, "The global crisis of communist systems is leading to the supersession of the old dichotomy between capitalism and socialism."

The present ebb of the revolutionary movement and the bourgeoisie's campaign over the failure of communism poses many problems which must be seen in a broader light. The political crisis in revisionist countries is real, as is the increasing shift to the right of ideology and political philosophy in these countries. This process is assuming the shape of a transition from a monopoly of power to pluralism, although both the first and the second rely on an essentially anticommunist policy, with the difference that the monopolization of power maintains the facade of "socialism," which pluralism rejects, preferring a democratic label.

The international antisocialist and reactionary campaign is also helped by the fact that some communist parties have created a false picture of socialism among the working masses. Socialism is often presented as if it could wave a magic wand to create what it contains in theory. We can recall here Khrushchev's "goulash socialism," and his promise in 1960 that the Soviet Union would achieve communism by 1980, overtaking the United States in every respect, or Mao Zedong's "egalitarian socialism" that promised arithmetical equality among the population. The failure of these concepts and practices was also hastened by a feeling of expectancy among the working masses, who were taught to wait for socialism as a gift from above. The bourgeoisie exploited these things as examples of the failure of socialism.

The idea of "building socialism overnight" is very far from being a Marxist concept. The classics of Marxism-Leninism never thought of or planned socialism as a system that could be built easily or without problems, nor as a social order that guaranteed total superiority to the capitalist order from the moment that socialist political power was imposed. They underlined that there are contradictions, conflicts, and difficulties on the socialist road, and that these must be overcome. As Comrade Ramiz Alia also stressed in his speech at the Eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum, "Let us not forget Lenin's dictum that in the final analysis it is the level of social productivity that measures the superiority of one social order over another." The construction of socialism requires colossal labor in many ideological, political, economic, social, and state areas, alongside work for the emancipation of society and the individual. The example of what happened in the Soviet Union is a broad field where we can identify difficult and complex problems that must be confronted. Democracy for the masses cannot be created on the first day of the victory of the revolution, and it can happen that individuals or organs concentrate more power than belongs to them in their hands, whether because of traits of personality, or because of the lack of a democratic political tradition in one country or another.

Socialism is and remains an alternative social order to capitalism, but this alternative becomes a reality under specific conditions. The superiority and values of socialism lie not only in the justice of its analyses and its theoretical formulations, but first of all in practical action on these principles. It is in fact a new order dating back 70 years confronted with a rival system with centuries of experience, but it has shown and continues to show its vitality. When our party emphasizes that socialism is a social order capable of meeting the demands of the times, this does not mean that we find ready-made answers in the textbooks of Marxist doctrine. It implies above all practical experience and the revolutionary thinking of the masses, gained in the course of tackling new and specific problems, and spread on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. "Practice, in other words the solution of problems that emerge," Comrade Ramiz Alia teaches us, "is not only a test of truth, but a condition for preserving the truth." This important theoretical and practical conclusion of our party shows the importance of revolutionary solutions of problems that emerge for the defense of socialism and its values. The development of socialist values is the best response which will prove that socialism lives and makes progress as a theory and in practice. The failure of revisionism does not in any way bedim the great values of socialism, the vigor of whose ideas is affirmed by the example of Albania. Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses that "The successful construction of socialism in our country and the progress of Albania, where the banner of Marxism-Leninism is held aloft, are a response that exposes the slanders of enemies who try to portray the crises and failures of the revisionists as the failure of communism."

Daily Comments on Hungarian 'Counterrevolution'

AU0611083589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Oct 89 p 4

[Liliana Hoxha article: "Capital Applauds the Removal of Communist Symbols"]

[Text] In a statement by a State Department spokesman on 23 October, the United States Government hailed the removal of the word "People's" from the title of the Republic of Hungary, particularly welcoming the choice of 23 October, the anniversary of the Hungarian counterrevolution of 1956, as the day to announce it. "The announcement on the 33d anniversary of the 1956 uprising seems to us highly appropriate," the United States spokesman stated. The choice of the anniversary of the counterrevolution to declare the country not a "people's" republic but a republic committed to "bourgeois democracy," as Matyas Szuros, the acting state president, put it, was particularly welcomed in Western capitalist countries.

It is no accident that United States imperialism and international capital welcomed the day of the counterrevolution as the day to remove the word "people's" from the title of the republic. Nor did the Hungarian leadership choose this day by accident. We are not dealing with a simple symbol or commemorative gesture here. The news agency REUTER explained the West's enthusiasm and the reasons behind it on 26 October, reporting that "Hungary has buried communism and is on the threshold of fulfilling the ideals it failed to realize in 1956."

The changes carried out in Hungary in recent months have accomplished the speedy transition of revisionism into an outright counterrevolutionary and anticommunist phase. This is no longer an underground but a public process, accompanied by truly extraordinary signs of ultra-reaction. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in his speech to the Eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum, the state has surrendered to the most anticommunist forces. For example, by decision of the Council of Ministers, the red star as a symbol of communism has been removed. It has also been decided to remove another proletarian symbol, the hammer and sickle. Marx's internationalist slogan, "Workers of the world unite," has been removed from the masthead of NEPSZABADSAG, the country's main newspaper. They then moved toward removing the word "people's" from the title of the country and announcing "commitment to bourgeois democracy." What kind of democracy is implied here can be understood when the idea of "the people," a linguistic, social, and political expression and embodiment of true democracy in the world and a symbol of mankind itself, strikes revisionism as antidemocratic.

This racist crusade against everything to do with communism in content and appearance, down to its very symbols, resembles that of 1956 in its goals, strategy, and its hatred for everything revolutionary and communist. There are the very same slogans and accusations attacking communism. The most regressive, reactionary, and fascist forces are being set in motion in reprisals against the symbols of communism. Communism has been buried for decades in revisionist countries, since the Khrushchevite revisionists took over their leaderships. What is happening now is the uprooting, elimination, and destruction of every shred of communism or even its appearance. The anticommunist character of the state and the party is being blared forth by trumpets. This has been sanctioned by a step hitherto unprecedented in revisionist countries, the dissolution of the party. There is no longer a communist party in Hungary even in name, not even for the purposes of demagogy, and antisocialist democratic pluralism is being openly publicized.

In certain revisionist countries today, the bourgeoisie has no need to disguise itself or to preserve even the outward trappings of communism. The revisionist counterrevolution has taken the high road of aggressive anticommunism. Hungary is one of the clearest testimonies to this. The year 1956 is in fact being repeated there, but in "peaceful" ways. What is happening is precisely what Enver Hoxha analyzed in his famous work, "The Workers Class in Revisionist Countries Must Enter Into Battle and Reimpose the Dictatorship of the Proletariat": "The Hungarian counterrevolution was suppressed by the counterrevolutionaries. The two wings of putschists were to draw together, as they have done; they were to build 'their Hungary,' as they have done; they were to restore capitalism, as they have done. Learning from their experience of bloodshed, and, having paid their toll of blood for what they had done, the Hungarian reactionaries are now quietly carrying out their reforms on the lines of a radical capitalist transformation, independently of and without the slightest interference from the Soviet armed forces and tanks on Hungarian soil. The Hungarian bourgeoisie are, as one might say, minding their own business, this time under the protection of the Khrushchevite tanks. The capitalist Hungarian bourgeoisie, enemies of the workers class, are lulling the workers class to sleep under the cloak of the 'party banner' and are forging new fetters for them."

It is this peaceful counterrevolution that has now assumed the form of anticommunism, in exactly the same way as the 1956 counterrevolution of 1956. The Hungarian news agency MTI reported enthusiastically on 24 October: "The dreams of 1956 are becoming a reality without bloodshed." It is perfectly clear what the "dreams and ideals " of 1956 were, when bands of counterrevolutionaries hanged communists from telephone poles on the streets of Budapest. "Peaceful methods" have now turned out to be more effective. Not the party, but bourgeois democracy is now necessary; the symbols of communism can be dismantled with the blessing of the official authorities.

The outright and aggressive anticommunism and the hatred for every communist symbol now being shown by the counterrevolution in Hungary also have the blessing of perestroyka and its leader, Gorbachev. Hungarian officials often say that they would not be able to do what they are doing today without the Kremlin's support. Their regression also has the support of United States imperialism and the international bourgeoisie, these long-standing savage enemies of communism. Imperialist capital is now applauding the removal of communist symbols, because this suits its ideology and strategy.

However, this anticommunist hysteria is not and will not be able to uproot from the hearts of the peoples the communist ideal and the conviction that, despite temporary difficulties, this ideal stands undefeated and historically victorious.

Party Conferences in Lezhe, Gjirokaster Reported

AU0911121789

[Editorial report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 3 and 4 November carries on page 2 reports of Albanian Workers Party (AWP) District Committee conferences held in Lezhe and Gjirokaster.

The paper on 3 November carries an 800-word report by Rifat Dajti, entitled "A Militant Spirit Pushes Tasks Through," on the "recent" conference of the Lezhe AWP District Committee. The report states that Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, attended the conference. Gegprifti is reported as saying, "Major investments have been made in Lezhe District, which must be justified with more production." The report states that Hiqmet Cuka was reelected as first secretary of the Lezhe AWP District Committee.

The paper on 4 November carries a 1,000-word report by Perparim Xhixha, entitled "Fresh Impetus in Development Needs Creative Ability and Militant Labor," on the "recent" conference of the Gjirokaster AWP District Committee. The report states that Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended the conference, speaking on "further strengthening the leading role of basic organizations and organs of the party, especially where there are shortfalls and unsatisfactory work rates, and where there is sloth and complacency." The report states that Manxhar Binaj was reelected as first secretary of the Gjirokaster AWP District Committee.

Politburo Member Cited on Transportation Problems

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[Editorial report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 2 November carries on pages 1 and 2 a 2,200-word article by Hajredin Celiku, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member, entitled "Transportation—Faced With Complex Tasks." The article describes the need for "tighter work discipline" in transportation and for technical improvements in the rail and road network, including improved trackbed and signaling on the railroads, and the more extensive use of freight containers.

Plan Results for First 9 Months of 1989

AU0311121589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Oct 89 1-3

["Announcement of the Central Statistical Administration on the Results of Fulfillment of the Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development During the First 9 Months of 1989"]

[Text] During the 9-month period, the plan for the country's scientific, technical, and socioeconomic development was fulfilled under the conditions of restructuring and renewing the economy. The company-based organization of economic activity was extended and the rights and responsibilities of the territorial communities increased. The surge of working enthusiasm among the population, the high sense of responsibility, and the good organization and discipline of the labor collectives were of crucial importance for fulfilling the plan tasks and for producing additional goods.

An increase was achieved under the basic indicators, as compared with the first 9 months of 1989. Production amounted to 75.4 percent of the output envisaged for the year. Over 75 percent of the plan was achieved in respect of aggregate profit, net output, and social labor productivity. The 9-month plans of the companies and other economic organizations were fulfilled under most of the quantity and quality indicators. I. Main Results in National Economic Development

The basic results in the country's socioeconomic development during the 9-month-period were as follows:

	Reported for first 9 months of 1989	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Manufactured output from all branches of material production, million leva:	56,360	103.5
including:		
Industrial goods output, million leva	38,930	103.5
Agricultural output, million leva	5,824	106.4
Net output (not including agricultural organizations), million leva	17,923	109.0
Aggregate profit (not including agricultural organizations), million leva	10,925	113.3
Social labor productivity (not including agricultural organizations), leva	7,150	111.0
Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output (not including agricultural organizations), leva	61.99	97.5
Goods supplied to domestic market (at retail prices), million leva	13,100	110.8
Retail goods turnover (at current prices), million leva	13,933	107.8
Everyday services to population, million leva	676	106.3
Foreign trade goods turnover, million convertible leva	18,835	92.7
Imports, million convertible leva	9,125	90.1
Exports, million convertible leva	9,710	95.3
Average wages of workers and employees from all branches of material production, leva	2,268	105.7

About 65 percent of the output in the non-agricultural branches was produced by the 984 companies that have been formed.

Labor and material resources were utilized more rationally. The overall rise in output in comparison with the first 9 months of 1988 was achieved from increased social labor productivity, with fewer personnel employed.

The relative saving achieved in material expenditure (not including depreciation) was 793 million leva, prime costs per 100 leva of output fell by 1.6 percent, and aggregate profits per 100 leva of basic production funds rose by 5.4 percent.

Work continued on restructuring the economy. Over 2.3 billion leva were invested in technical re-equipment and technological renewal, which represented 40.3 percent of the total volume of capital investments.

Some 10.7 percent of industrial goods output was renewed, compared with 8.7 percent in the first 9 months of 1988. The greatest degree of renewal was achieved in the companies of the "Electronics" Complex (29.6 percent) and in the "Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment" Complex (18.4 percent).

The means for automating and mechanizing production were increased by the addition of 737 new, highly productive machines with numerical program control, 197 integrated, mechanized processing lines, 65 automatic technological modules, 54 automated systems for controlling technological processes, and so on.

A total of 7,709 scientific and technical development projects were introduced, representing 51.9 percent of the number of projects planned for the year. Of these, 2,530 were for new and improved technologies, and 3,434 for new and improved products.

The results for the 9-month period could have been better if all the companies and economic organizations had kept to their economic agreements, had more fully utilized their production capacities, and had not allowed breaches of labor and technological discipline.

The manufacture of basic products was inadequate and has not been proceeding smoothly. The production of about 40 percent of the types of products included in the state plan was lower than in the first 9 months of 1988. Of the total 850 agreements concluded for production-sharing deliveries, 135 were not fulfilled, nor were the agreements fulfilled for 97 of the 142 main groups of material resources monitored.

A number of companies and other economic organizations failed to use their plans to create conditions for achieving the tasks set under the state plan. Over 1,000 company divisions permitted relative excess expenditures of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy.

Companies and economic organizations continue to direct their efforts toward overfulfilling the plans in terms of value, instead of ensuring the production of the types of products required. Some of them supplied fewer products to the domestic market than in the first 9 months of 1988. II. Meeting the Population's Requirements for Goods, Services, and Housing.

The 9-month plans of the companies and economic organizations for production of goods for the domestic market were overfulfilled, but by the end of September the state plan had been fulfilled by 72.2 percent. A total of 1.3 billion leva more goods was supplied from domestic production and imports, representing a rise of 10.8 percent over the quantities supplied in the first 9 months of 1988, whereas the state plan had budgeted for a rise of 12.8 percent.

Receipts for domestically produced goods rose by 11.7 percent, including an 8.1-percent rise for food products and a 14.7-percent increase for non-food goods.

Notwithstanding this considerable rise, the volume and structure of the commodity funds does not meet consumer demand. The market failed to receive from goods producers the necessary amounts of basic goods required by the population. A substantial part of the increase came from nonessential goods such as tobacco products, perfumery and cosmetic articles, fuel and lubricating materials, and others.

The following quantities of main goods were supplied to the commodity fund:

Main products	Goods provided in first 9 months of 1989	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Meat (not including poultry), thousand tonnes	288.6	109.6
Poultry meat, thousand tonnes	77.2	103.9
Milk, million liters	434.1	100.0
White cheese, thousand tonnes	62.2	100.9
Yellow cheese, thousand tonnes	20.3	99.9
Butter, thousand tonnes	15.4	98.5
Eggs, millions	755.2	103.5
Edible vegetable oils, thousand tonnes	82.0	98.9
Sugar, thousand tonnes	137.7	91.7
Sugar products, thousand tonnes	81.5	100.7
Fresh vegetables, thousand tonnes	201.7	117.5
Fresh fruit, thousand tonnes	100.2	162.2
Children's foods, thousand tonnes	15.9	98.4
Soft drinks, million liters	510.4	103.1
Cotton fabrics, million meters	55.7	110.3
Woolen fabrics, million meters	9.4	104.8
Tailored clothing, million leva	445.3	113.8
Knit outerwear, total, million articles	36.9	102.8
Knit outerwear, children's, million articles	20.7	104.2
Knit underwear, total, million articles	51.9	97.1
Knit underwear, children's, million articles	19.6	87.3
Footwear (not including indoor footwear), million pairs	18.9	109.1
Stockings and pantyhose, million pairs	62.0	108.6
Color television sets, thousands	98.4	106.7
Washing machines, thousands	138.2	110.4
Domestic refrigerators, thousands	79.8	113.4
Electric water heaters, thousands	100.9	101.1
Furniture, million leva	288.2	109.5

Lesser amounts of a number of the following essential goods were provided than in the first 9 months of 1988: beans, sheep's cheese, butter, sugar, edible vegetable oils, children's foods, fish and fish products, biscuits and wafers, green peppers, and salt, as well as toothpaste, cotton gingham, cotton clothing for ladies and schoolchildren, woolen clothing for children, teenagers, schoolchildren, and infants, children's and infants' knit underwear, knit cotton underwear and outerwear, rubber footwear, cooking stoves, electric batteries, electric lamps, flat glass, cast-iron radiators, porcelain tiles, wallpaper, plaster, and other products.

The companies and other economic organizations imported 4.4 percent less goods than in the same period last year, these goods making up 4.9 percent of the total goods receipts.

The companies are falling behind fulfilling the contracts they have concluded with the Ministry of Planning and Economy for production of goods in return for additional foreign exchange provided.

In retail trade, including public catering, goods turnover was over 1 billion leva higher than in the January-September period in 1988, while the increase in the retail trading network alone was 953 million leva. Rises in goods turnover were achieved in all oblasts, the greatest increases being in Sofia Oblast (9.3 percent), Razgrad Oblast (9.2 percent), and Lovech Oblast (9.0 percent).

Sales of basic food products, such as meat, sugar, dairy products, chocolate products, edible vegetable oils, and others, proceeded irregularly, and were sometimes even interrupted. Various types of woolen fabrics, fashions, and knitwear (especially children's and infants' knit garments) continued to be in short supply, as well as certain consumer durables.

In many towns, because of organizational shortcomings and lack of coordination between the goods producers and the trading organizations, there were irregular stocks of fruit and vegetables in the stores, while the quality and the commercial presentation of the products were unsatisfactory. The average selling prices of fresh vegetables in the cooperative markets rose by over 13 percent, and in the state and cooperative shops by over 2 percent. Higher average prices were also asked for potatoes and for fruit sold in the cooperative markets.

Everyday services showed an increase over the first 9 months of 1988, rising by 40 million leva in value, or by 6.3 percent. This increase is one-half of that envisaged in the state plan.

The increases in the main types of services were as follows:

	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Metalworking services	103.7
Construction and repair services	115.4
Motor vehicle maintenance and repair	106.2
Maintenance and repair of consumer equipment	101.1
Optical services	107.2
Dry cleaning	105.8
Laundry	103.7
Footwear, leather, and haberdashery services	104.5
Photographic services	109.6

Falls were recorded in the following types of services: tailoring and dressmaking services (2.9 percent), radio and television maintenance and repair (10.4 percent), furniture and woodworking services (3.0 percent), and textile and knitwear services (1.9 percent).

Higher rises were recorded in the amounts of services provided to the population in Sofia City (9.5 percent), Mikhaylovgrad Oblast (8.6 percent), Plovdiv Oblast (7.7 percent), and Burgas Oblast (7.6 percent).

The services relating to motor vehicle maintenance and repair, repair of consumer equipment, radio and television maintenance and repair, and construction were inadequate.

During the 9-month period, 22,249 housing units were constructed, 24 percent less than in the same period of 1988, thus fulfilling barely 34.3 percent of the annual task. The lowest levels of fulfillment of the annual housing program were recorded in Razgrad Oblast (17.8 percent), Burgas Oblast (29.6 percent), and Khaskovo Oblast (31.2 percent) III. Development of Material Production

The activity of the production complexes during the 9-month period was characterized by the following basic data:

	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988		
Complexes	Goods output	Net output	Social labor productivity
Electronics	110.9	112.9	111.2
Transport, agricultural, and construction equipment	103.7	110.6	114.0
Heavy machine building	101.1	105.0	105.7
Biotechnological and chemical industry	103.3	112.4	112.8
Metallurgy and mineral raw materials	99.3	94.9	95.4
Agro-industrial complex	104.4	115.0*	117.1*
Forest industry	100.3	110.2	111.5
Construction and building industry	98.6	103.6	107.2

	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988		
Complexes	Goods output	Net output	Social labor productivity
Industry for man	104.6	114.4	117.8
Energy industry	100.9	95.8	96.2

* Not including results in agriculture.

The companies and other economic organizations produced 1.9 billion leva more output than in the same period of 1988. This increase came mainly from the "Agro-Industrial," "Electronics," and "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Complexes.

The results by oblasts according to the basic indicators were as follows:

	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988		
Oblasts	Goods output	Net output	Social labor productivity
Sofia City	105.3	110.4	111.4
Burgas	102.1	105.3	107.8
Varna	104.0	109.2	114.0
Lovech	104.6	112.2	113.3
Mikhaylovgrad	103.9	108.7	110.6
Plovdiv	103.9	109.9	108.7
Razgrad	98.9	106.0	113.9
Sofia	106.3	112.0	111.9
Khaskovo	102.0	107.2	110.5

About 54 percent of the rise in output in the territorial communities was provided by the production units in Sofia City and in Sofia and Plovdiv Oblasts.

The results achieved in the production complexes according to the basic indicators were as follows:

"Electronics" Complex

Main products	Produced in first 9 months of 1989	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Automated project design systems, units	193	153.2
Automated work stations, units	4,408	87.5
Automated technological modules for machining, units	51	86.4
Machining centers, units	426	154.3
Automated systems for testing printed circuit boards, units	43	134.4
Automatic telephone exchanges, thousand lines	346	105.5
Complete automated assembly lines, units	15	150.0

The complex produced 469 million leva more output than in the first 9 months of 1988 and provided 24.5 percent of the overall increase in output. New and improved products valued at 1,365 million leva were manufactured.

The following companies produced less output than in the same period of 1988: "Feromagnit," "Beroe," "Pribor," "Balans," and "Svetlina."

The following companies failed to ensure conditions for fulfilling state orders for the manufacture of new products: "Disk Memory Devices," "Microelectronics," "Optical Technologies," "INKOMS," and "Metal-Cutting Machine Plants." In addition, production did not commence for eight new products for which state orders had been placed.

"Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Complex

Main products	Produced in first 9 months of 1989	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Soda ash, industrial grade, thousand tonnes	848	103.3
Nitrogenous fertilizers (including carbamide), thousand tonnes	695	94.1
Polystyrene, thousand tonnes	21	109.2
Truck, bus, trolleybus, and trailer tires, thousands	656	104.6
Car tires, thousands	737	103.9
Polyvinyl chloride pipes, thousand tonnes	22	87.7
Polyvinyl chloride floor coverings, million square meters	21	90.7
Chemically pure substances and reagents, thousand leva	9,071	103.1
Soft synthetic leathers, million square meters	12	109.6
Oil paints and varnishes, thousand tonnes	61	108.7

Production output was 212 million leva higher than in the January-September period of 1988 and made up 11.1 percent of the overall increase in national output. New and improved products valued at 1,051 million leva were manufactured, and 16.3 percent of production was renewed.

Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output fell by 2.8 percent as compared with the same period of 1988. Production profitability rose by 8.3 percent.

The "Polikhim" Company in Devnya failed to fulfill its own 9-month plan for nitrogenous fertilizers, for which a state order had been approved.

The following state orders relating to technological renewal were not introduced into production: "Technology for production of thermally stable alpha-amylase, activity analogue Termamil 120," by the "Plastkhim" Company, and the "Technology for production of cephalosporin C and 7 ATsK [expansion not known]—yield 17 kg per cubic meter per month," by the "Industrial Microbiology" Company.

"Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment" Complex

Main products	Produced in first 9 months of 1989, units	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Diesel engines	35,392	116.9
Combine harvesters	16,141	104.1
Electric hoists	102,306	105.8
Electric lift trucks	35,728	99.8
Motorized cultivators	1,762	189.5
Loading machines	190	126.7
Single-bucket excavators	923	118.6

The companies of the complex produced 5.9 percent of the output in material production, as well as 14.3 percent of the new and improved products.

Of the 21 tasks specified in the state plan for mastering new technologies, products, and raw materials, 15 were fulfilled, and 383 scientific and technical development projects were brought into production.

Fewer articulated buses, specialized vehicles, and vehicle chassis frames were produced than in the same period last year.

"Heavy Machine Building" Complex

The companies and other economic organizations in the complex produced 1.8 billion leva of output, or 20 percent more than in the first 9 months of 1988. There were increases in the production of electrical tools, truck-mounted cranes, powerful high-voltage induction motors, electric hoists, automatic washing machines, central heating radiators, and other articles.

The output of new and improved products was valued at 302 million leva, 3,7 percent more than in the same period of 1988.

The 9-month plan was not fulfilled for the manufacture of the following structure-determining products and raw materials: rolling mill rolls, semiconductor instruments for power circuits, and welding machines.

"Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials" Complex

The complex produced output valued at 2.9 billion leva, 21 million leva less than in the same period of 1988. The following production figures were achieved: cast iron for processing, 1.139 million tonnes (1.3 percent more); steel in blocks, light blooms, and slabs, 2.177 million tonnes (1.6 percent more); and steel pipes, 207,000 tonnes (6.2 percent more). Production of rolled ferrous metals fell by 8.8 percent, and of ferrous metal sheet by 6.1 percent.

Material expenditure (not including depreciation) per 100 leva of output was 1.1 percent higher than in the 9-month period of 1988.

The "Kremikovtsi" Company has still not created conditions for fulfilling the state orders for the production of rolled ferrous metal strip and strip products, nor has the "Stomana" Company created conditions for fulfilling the orders for rolled sections and strip from ferrous metals.

The companies in the complex underfulfilled the 9-month plan for new and improved products by 4.6 percent.

"Energy Industry" Complex

During the 9-month period, 31.8 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power were produced, of which 28.7 billion kilowatt-hours were provided by the economic organizations in the complex.

There were temporary difficulties in power supplies to individual regions in the country.

Total coal production reached 26.2 million tonnes, and 1.1 million tonnes of brown coal briquettes were produced, the same as in the first 9 months of 1988.

"Construction and Building Industry" Complex

Since the start of the year the companies and other economic organizations assimilated capital investments valued at 5,814 million leva, 1.8 percent more than in the same period last year. The annual plan was fulfilled by 60.8 percent. Over 1,374 million leva were spent on structure-determining projects, representing a 67.2-percent fulfillment of the annual plan.

The following companies are not assimilating the planned means in a smooth manner: "Pima" in Mikhaylovgrad, "Polikhim" in Devnya, "Microprocessor Systems" in Pravets, "Bulgarian Beer" Economic Trust, and others.

Construction is lagging in the following structure-determining commissioning projects: the alkyl benzene installation at the "D. Dimov" Technological Chemical

Combine in Yambol; the secondary aluminum and alloys processing shop in Shumen; the hot-rolled pipe production shop in Septemvri; the "Krakra" welding machine plant in Pernik; the Sofia Cigarette Factory; the "Marek" Plant in Kyustendil; the "K. Petrov" Plant in Stanke Dimitrov; and the National Radio and Television Center.

Basic funds valued at 2,987 million leva were commissioned during the 9-month period. On 30 September 29.8 percent of the annual plan for commissioning installations had been fulfilled, 11.3 percent less than in the same period last year. The following companies recorded lower levels of plan fulfillment: "Berila," "Vamo" in Varna, "Cement Engineering," "Plastkhim" in Botevgrad, and others.

The building and installation organizations and companies completed (as main contractors) construction valued at 3,229 million leva, representing 72.4 percent of the annual plan. The volume of construction completed is 1.4 percent less than in the same period of 1988.

The annual program for building structure-determining commissioning projects was fulfilled by 73.8 percent, and 3.8 percent more building and installation works were completed than in the January-September period of 1988.

The companies and other economic organizations in the "Construction and Building Industry" Complex produced output valued at 2.8 billion leva, 1.4 percent less than in the same period last year. Production of the following basic building materials fell: cement (6.8 percent less), bricks (4.4 percent less), roof and ridge tiles (14.3 percent less), and water- and moisture-proofing materials (14.7 percent less).

"Industry for Man" Complex

Main products	Produced in first 9 months of 1989	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Woolen cloth, million meters	28	100.0
Cotton fabrics, million meters	268	100.8
Tailored goods, million leva	502	108.6
Knit outerwear, million units	38	103.1
Knit underwear, million units	52	94.0
Footwear (not including indoor footwear), million pairs	19	106.8
Ceramic tiles, million units	184	80.2
Sanitary ware, thousand units	480	101.8

Production output rose by 168 million leva over the figure for the same period last year and provided 8.8 percent of the overall rise in national production. Over 2 billion leva's worth of goods were supplied to the domestic market, representing a rise of 12.5 percent. At the same time, 11 companies failed to fulfill their 9-month plans for goods production, 30 companies fulfilled their state orders by less than 75 percent, and 8 companies provided fewer goods than in the same period of 1988.

"Agro-Industrial" Complex

The agricultural organizations making up the system of the "National Agro-Industrial Union" Association produced 14.4 percent more output of plant products than in the 9-month period of 1988. Increases were achieved in all oblasts.

Compared with the previous year, it is expected that higher yields of grain, sunflowers, sugar beet, tomatoes, and apples will be obtained, but the output of tobacco and peppers will be lower.

Harvesting of main farm crops in the agricultural organizations was delayed beyond the optimum periods, which created conditions for crop losses. Crop harvesting lagged behind in the following oblasts: Mikhaylovgrad, of the sunflower, soya, tomato, and apple crops; Burgas, of sunflowers, tomatoes, peppers, and sugar beet; Razgrad, of the soya and sugar beet crops; and Khaskovo, of the pepper and apple crops.

Animal farming production in the same organizations was 0.7 percent lower than in the 9-month period of the previous year. However, Burgas, Mikhaylovgrad, and Sofia Oblasts and Sofia City recorded rises in output from animal farming.

Milk and egg production fell in all categories of farms by 4.4 and 5.1 percent respectively. The greatest falls in milk and egg output were recorded in Razgrad, Lovech, and Varna Oblasts. Only Sofia City produced more milk, while Plovdiv and Sofia Oblasts produced more eggs.

The fall in production of the basic animal products arose as a result of both lower productivity and the smaller numbers of livestock.

The numbers of farm animals on 1 October were as follows:

	Number of head on 1 Oct 89	Numbers on 1 Oct 89 as percentage of numbers on 1 Oct 89
Cattle,	1,573	95.7
including cows	611	95.4
Pigs,	4,623	102.4
including breeding sows	370	107.6

	Number of head on 1 Oct 89	Numbers on 1 Oct 89 as percentage of numbers on 1 Oct 89
Sheep	7,985	93.4
including breeding ewes	4,977	92.8
Poultry	49,741	98.8

Falls in the numbers of all main groups of animals were recorded in Razgrad Oblast, and the same was true for Khaskovo and Varna Oblasts, with the exception of pigs. A certain stabilization, and even an increase, in numbers of cows was achieved in Sofia City and Lovech, Plovdiv, and Mikhaylovgrad Oblasts. The numbers of sheep continue to fall in all oblasts, especially in Razgrad and Varna Oblasts.

During the 9-month period, 462,500 tonnes of cattle and poultry meat were purchased from all categories of farms, representing a rise of 12,600 tonnes, or 2.6 percent, over the figure for the same period last year. However, 44.7 million liters less milk and 82.6 million fewer eggs were purchased, representing falls of 2.4 and 5.9 percent respectively. Bread grain purchases amounted to 2.5 million tonnes, a rise of 55,800 tonnes, while 459,000 tonnes of tomatoes were purchased, an increase of 61,700 tonnes.

The annual state order for cattle and poultry sales was fulfilled by 89.8 percent, the state order for milk was fulfilled by 87.6 percent, for bread grain by 100.0 percent, and for tomatoes by 54.1 percent.

The economic organizations of the food and tobacco industry included in the complex produced output valued at 8.8 billion leva, an increase of 292 million leva over the figure for the first 9 months of 1988.

Main products	Produced in first 9 months of 1989, thousand tonnes	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Meat	437	105.7
Meat products	105	108.5
Butter	17	91.9
White cheese	93	97.8
Yellow cheese	29	103.2
Edible vegetable oils	98	96.3
Flour	918	98.7
Rice	13	49.3
Sugar	287	107.5
Canned and bottled fruit	204	122.6
Prepared and semi-prepared foods	54	110.5
Sugar products	78	100.1
Children's foods	19	98.4
Animal feed mixes	3,216	102.5

The enterprises of the food and tobacco industry provided 40.0 percent of the total value of domestically produced goods for the internal market. The volume of goods was 11.1 percent greater than in the first 9 months of 1988.

Production output fell below the figures for the corresponding period in 1988 in the following economic trusts: "Dairy Industry," "Agricultural Mechanization and Technical Services," and "Agricultural Construction and Water Management."

"Forest Industry" Complex

Main products	Produced in first 9 months of 1989	First 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Softwood materials, thousand cubic meters	819	104.0
Hardwood materials, thousand cubic meters	1,266	92.4
Softwood boards and components, based on thousand cubic meters trimmed	539	98.2
Plywood, thousand square meters	38	110.3
Joinery products, thousand square meters	1,853	101.0
Chipboard and other types of boards from wood, thousand cubic meters	233	92.8

Production output during the 9 months amounted to 1,429 million leva, a rise of 0.3 percent over the figure for the same period of 1988. The following companies failed to assume in full the state orders for production of goods for the domestic market: "Komfort," "Bulest" in Burgas, "Zornitsa" in Tolbukhin, "Khemus" in Troyan, and others.

"Transportation" Complex

Compared with the first 9 months of 1988, revenues rose by 1.4 percent, net output by 2.3 percent, and social labor productivity by 5.2 percent.

During the 9-month period 320.8 million tonnes of freight were carried, 3.0 percent less than in the same period of 1988.

	Freight carried in first 9 months of 1989, thousand tonnes	irst 9 months of 1989 as percentage of first 9 months of 1988
Railroad transport	59,084	97.8
Public road transport	239,948	96.0
Sea transport	19,198	108.4
River transport	2,538	89.7
Air transport	16	80.5

The quantity of freight carried within the country by public road transport fell by 4.1 percent, but the amount of international freight carried rose by 25.1 percent, as compared with the first 9 months of 1988. Sea transport recorded an 8.8-percent rise in international freight.

A total of 1,508.3 million passengers were carried, 4.3 percent fewer than in the same period last year. Although the transportation system was placed under considerable strain, the requirements for passenger services were satisfied, including during the busy tourist and vacation season, on holidays and rest days, and provision of transport for youth brigade workers to help in the harvest. An additional 289 trains were provided during peak periods, and more passenger cars supplied for 1,967 trains, thus providing over 503,000 extra seats. In addition, three newly constructed and three redesigned centralized mainline relay signalling systems were brought into operation. Radio links for traffic control were also installed on trains on the Sofia-Gorna Oryakhovitsa route.

"Communications" Complex

The postal network was extended by the addition of 16 new post and telegraph offices, 12 of which are in rural areas. A total of 95,984 new telephones were installed, 79,715 of which were for domestic subscribers. In addition, 15 radio relay stations and 41 television relay stations entered service.

Revenues from communications services rose by 7.2 percent over the figure for the same period of 1988. Net output rose by 9.1 percent, aggregate profits by 11.2 percent, and social labor productivity by 8.8 percent.

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The companies face important and responsible tasks, which must be fulfilled before the year's end. This requires even better organization, as well as specific work by every labor collective to ensure the most efficient utilization of material and labor resources for fulfillment of the plan for 1989.

Leaders Congratulate Moscow on GOSR

AU0811150289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Moscow"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

Esteemed Comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the Federal Assembly, the Government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and on our own behalf, we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Soviet people our most cordial comradely greetings and sincere congratulations on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state inaugurated a new era of revolutionary transformation in the world, an era of people's struggle for the right to determine their own fate, for peace, friendship, cooperation, and socialism. Today clearly confirms the organic unity between the ideals of October and the revolutionary tasks of the present.

The Soviet Communists, faithful to their traditions, today form the first echelons of the creators of the new practice of socialism and the development of its theory. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has outlined a comprehensive program for the restructuring of society, a program associated with the process of seeking and finding new qualities and stimuli for socialist development. These aims and experiences are a valuable source of inspiration for Czechoslovak Communists.

A result of the Soviet Union's creative endeavor is the new political thinking and its assertion in international relations. Czechoslovakia sincerely supports the consistent and purposeful, peaceful Soviet foreign policy, a policy that also corresponds to our people's most intrinsic interests.

Friendship between the people of our countries, mutual respect and understanding, comprehensive cooperation, and its development and improvement—these are the foundations upon which we will build and fortify Czechoslovak-Soviet relations for the future. Ties of alliance with the Soviet Union remain a constant quality of our foreign policy.

Time has placed new demands upon socialism. Restructuring is the answer to these demands. Through its implementation, we in Czechoslovakia, along with the other socialist countries, also want to contribute to the development and affirmation of socialism's precedence and to strengthening its authority and position in the world.

Dear Comrades,

We wish you and all the Soviet people success in implementing the demanding tasks of social restructuring and the development of socialism in the effort to enhance peace in the world.

Knotek GOSR Anniversary Address Published

AU0811122389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 89 p 2

[Speech by CSSR Presidium Member and Secretary Ivan Knotek "at the festive rally of the working people and youth of Prague" to mark the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, GOSR, at the Palace of Culture in Prague on 6 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, esteemed fellow citizens, dear young friends,

All of progressive mankind recalls these days, along with the peoples of the USSR, the 72d anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We evaluate the historical importance of every historical event according to the way it has influenced further social development. If we assess the Great October Socialist Revolution from this viewpoint, we can say that its victory undoubtedly is one of the most important events of 20th century world history. We remember its anniversary as a historical milestone in the movement of history because it gave a strong impulse to all social movements of its time and of the entire epoch of history. It awoke the nations of the East to the battle agaisnt colonial exploitation. Under its influence, a mighty wave of revolutionary zeal and struggles arose in Europe. Socialist revolutions took place in Germany and Hungary. Although they were defeated, they remained forever in the memory of progressive mankind.

For us in Czechoslovakia, the Great October is historically linked with the creation of conditions for the foundation of joint state, the Czechoslovak Republic. It is for us a symbol of creative values which we connect with socialism. Great October brought mankind near to the ideals of social equality, humaneness, and justice by breaking the domain of capital. It has given the political and economic foundation of human rights to equal opportunities for the advancement of personality regardless of property, social, racial, and ethnic origin. The young Soviet society started, under the leadership of Lenin, to create the basic conditions for their implementation.

Great October was also a historical milestone in the struggle of man against the tragedy of wars which have accompanied mankind since time immemmorial. The Decree on Peace was not only the way out from World War I, but also became the foundation stone for the peoples' diplomacy of the socialist state, a step towards securing the rights of man for a peaceful life. In the conditions of revolutionary Russia, the October appealed to members of various nations and nationalities to follow a path towards a better and juster society. The Leninist nationality policy, based on the thorough application of the right of nations to self-determination, created conditions for all nations of former Czarist Russia to unite for the great aim of the building of socialism into a new state formation—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.

In the 7 decades of the existence of the Soviet state, its working people have created great material and intellectual values and have managed to defend them throughout the entire period of its existence. The victory of the October Revolution has smashed the myth about the unshakable character of capitalism as the natural order. History has put on the agenda capitalism's gradual replacement by socialism. The October Revolution most fully and most comprehensively expressed the needs for social order in the whole world. In all the specific features of Russian conditions, it has shown the main trends of the whole historic era—an era of transition from capitalism to socialism, a transition that was theoretically worked out by Marx and Engels and that has been implemented by masses of Russian proletariat according to the strategy and tactics worked out and led by Lenin. The ability of Lenin to clearly foresee social movement, the understanding of the vital interests of the working people and the trust in their creative forces, the deepest penetration to the very essence of social processes, all this enabled Lenin and the Bolsheviks to win masses of millions over for the revolutionary movement. They carried out the revolution as their liberation from the despotic rule of the Russian tsarism.

The birth of the Soviet Republic, the government of Soviets have created conditions for the installation of a new, just social system in which people indeed became true rulers of their country. October 1917 also strongly influenced the bourgeois society and considerably sharpened all the contradictions—the bourgeosie was forced to make considerable concessions to working people in a number of countries and at the same time also learned lessons from the Russian revolution and the great economic crisis of 1930's.

The monopolistic capital has created a multinational mechanism to regulate economic and political contradictions which have been adapting themselves and has made it possible to avoid an extremely critical situation and to preserve certain economic and social stability above all in advanced states.

The so far historical development has shown that the replacement of the old order by a new one is, in a world context, a long-term and complex process. It would be politically naive to assess capitalism today by views and yardsticks of its influence at the beginning of this century. The scientific-technical revolution has brought about fundamental changes in the capitalist society but this does not in any way change the fact that it remains a class society for which the exploitation of man by man is a permanent accompanying feature. Thus there is a topical task that continues to exist for all those who are being exploited—to get rid of this yoke—and this is only possible through the liberation of working people from the rule of capital. This experience of the 1917 revolution still has historical validity and the future development of human society will confirm this fully.

The ideas of October have changed the political map of the world. They have created new conditions for a sharp development and internationalization of the workers' and communist movement and for the further upsurge of the national liberation movement. The Great October shook the colonial system of imperialism. More than 100 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in which more than half of the globe's population lives, have set off on the path of an independent development. Their policy of nonalignment, their active opposition to aggressive attempts of neocolonialism, and the fact that many of them have decided in favor of a socialist orientation mean a weakening of the imperialist rule. The development in these countries is complex and often full of contradictions. A majority of countries that have liberated themselves has been integrated into the capitalist world economy, some of them belong to industrial states, some have hardly yet exceeded the framework of the initial economic development. Many of them are waging difficult struggles for their existence, they have to fight against famine and poverty, they are rising up against their masters. Despite the various political and economic currents, the general direction of this vast and varied world is determined by trends which October made irreversible—antiimperialism, anticolonialism, and the effort of nations to achieve freedom and to install national independence. The October Revolution has created prerequisites for the international communist movement to head the progressive social forces in the world. Many communist and workers' parties are working in complex conditions of class struggle, under constant pressure from ruling parties, and many in conditions of difficult illegality. Despite these facts, the communist movement is an important force which capitalism has to reckon with as with a real political force.

October has also changed the intellectual life of mankind. The example of the socialist revolution meant a breaking point in the minds of working masses. They realized that ideals of freedom, justice, and peace are possible to implement. Ideas of scientific socialism have become the belief for millions. The October Revolution was the beginning of the profound changes in the whole system of international relations. Above all, it created a possibility for the removal of wars from people's lives. It was a revolution the first decree of which was the decree on peace, and thus peace and socialism have become the basic pillars of the policy of the Soviet Union and all socialist states. On all these conclusions leans our loyalty to the traditions of October which are inseparable from realities of the present world.

Esteemed comrades, esteemed fellow citizens! The birth of the first socialist state—the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics—was the most important result of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The path traveled by people, led by the CPSU in the 72 years since 1917, has been complex, a path of overcoming obstacles, but also a path of heroism and successes. No one can deny the fact that it was the Great October Socialist Revolution that in a country with remnants of feudalism, and with little industrial development, has enabled tens of millions of people to be freed from the fetters of capitalism.

It was, however, necessary in the early years to defend the revolution against the internal counterrevolution and foreign intervention, and the Russian proletariat managed to do this. It was necessary to fundamentally rebuild the national economy of the young Soviet Republic. All those who did not believe in this possibility were able to convince themselves graphically that the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that emerged from it did not mean only to pull down old things but above all to build new things. Already in the mid 1920s, Soviet people put an end to the consequences of the vast economic destruction, and it was a great success at the time. It was achieved through the implementation of the new economic policy of the party which, through its long-term goals, aimed at the building of the material base of socialism. Under the conditions of the time, Lenin considered it necessary to stress that it was necessary to build a society on a new economic basis. And it was namely this policy that set the task of building a society not directly on the basis of enthusiasm, but with the help of the enthusiasm that the great revolution evokes on the basis of personal interest and financial autonmy.

The entire practice of socialist construction has tested well and confirms the deep truth of these ideas to which the Soviet society is now returning again in the process of restructuring. The attractiveness of the revolutionary ideas of Great October has been reflected in the entire construction of the Soviet Union. Despite problems and mistakes that arose in the process of construction nothing can change the fact that the Soviet Union, in the course of the construction of socialism, transformed itself into a world power. To achieve the present level, great human and material sacrifices have been necessary. Soviet people were subjected to the tests of fate in World War II in which they won gloriously and liberated many countries, including our Czechoslovak Republic, from aggressors. Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have proven to the whole world the strength of ideas of Great October, the strength of socialism. These ideas have been victorious not only in the struggle against the aggressor, but they were also victorious in the minds of people's masses and led, after the war, to a further collapse of imperialism and to the creation of the socialist community of nations.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has expressed succinctly the road from October 1917 in his book, "Restructuring and New Thinking for Us and for the Whole World," in these words: We have gone along uncharted roads both in the direct and indirect sense of the word. On more than one occasion we have lost our way and made mistakes. This all has cost us great deal of blood and sweat. We have however gone forward and have never thought of a retreat, of giving up what has been achieved, and we have not questioned our socialist choice.

The entire postwar and present period is characterized by the striving of the Soviet Union not only to develop its own country comprehensively but also to contribute actively to the development of socialism and progress in the world. These realities come to mind in particular today when we are marking the festive day of Great October 1917 and when opening the month of friendship between the nations of the Soviet Union and the CSSR. We are availing ourselves of this opportunity to express to the Soviet people and their Leninist Communist Party our sincere fraternal greetings and thanks for the help in building socialism in Czechoslovakia and to wish them many successes in the realization of the legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in restructuring Soviet society.

Esteemed comrades and fellow citizens, in assessing the historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution we justifiably ask ourselves what influence has it had on the development of the history of Czechoslovakia, and how are we realizing in concrete political practice its legacy at present. As we ponder these questions we can say in sum that the Great October Socialist Revolution contributed decisively to the ending of World War I and to the destruction of Austria-Hungary and thereby to the creation of conditions to enable nations that were enslaved by it to go along their own road. Thanks to this historic reality our Czechoslovak Republic, too, came into existence.

The force of the influence of October is demonstrated by the emergence of the Slovak Republic of Councils, declared in Presov, which was, however, suppressed at its very outset. Great October also became the ideological source for the emergence of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and its ideas inspired CPCZ activity not only in the process of its foundation but also in the class and political struggle with the bourgeoisie during the First Czechoslovak Republic, during the period of the national liberation struggle, the preparation of the realization of the February Victory of the Czechoslovak working people in 1948, as well as during the entire period of more than 40 years during the long journey of building socialism in our country.

By defeating the bourgeoisie in 1948, we eliminated the exploitation of man by man and made it possible, on the principle of public and cooperative ownership, to create unprecedented conditions for the development of production. It remains an indisputable fact that only thanks to socialism have we brought about the elimination of enormous differences between various categories of people, social differences and differences between individual classes and social groups. Illiteracy, unemployment, and the backwardness of individual areas of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia have been eliminated. We have built a powerful material and technological industrial base. By carrying out Lenin's cooperative agricultural plan, we have secured full self-sufficiency in the production of basic foodstuffs and we have increased the living standard of all stratas of the population.

Although we are not satisfied with everything, we can state that we are a politically and economically stable state. The ideas of the October Revolution and Lenin's teaching have influenced, to a decisive degree, the principled solution of the nationality question which found its expression in the federative set up of the CSSR, ensuring the political and economic equality of both nations as well as all ethnic minorities living in Czechoslovakia. The Great October legacy has demonstrated and demonstrates to us in its entire historical development that historic victories in the 1917 Revolution would not have been possible had not a united and cohesive Bolshevik Party stood at the head, and this experience is also a source of inspiration for the present.

We are conscious, Comrades, of all these realities today with a far greater intensity than in the previous period. This is because the world socialist community has gone over, under the influence of restructuring which was motivated by the CPSU at its April 1985 session, into the new stage of its development. This stage is concerned with the all round effort to use restructuring to provide socialism with the most modern forms of social organization, and to unveil most fully the humanist character of the socialist system in all its aspects.

Restructuring in its true sense means revolution, a transition to a new stage, to a higher quality of socialism, and thus its influence is seen not only in the Soviet Union but it is in evidence in all socialist countries and international relations, it creates new conditions in the sphere of peaceful coexistence. There is no doubt that, thanks to the policy of the CPSU and its state, historic successes have been achieved in disarmament, in the reduction of tension between two military alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. One class of missile has been eliminated and conditions are beilng created for a better cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries. We regard it as an important fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic too, through its proposals put forward by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, for the creation of a zone of trust at the borders between the two military groupings, is contributing actively to the implementation of this peaceful effort. We are at the same time witnessing a fact that the restructuring process gives extra dynamism not only to various political current and groups in individual states, but it also influences forms and methods of workings of bourgeois ideology and its official representatives. All this creates a new political and economic siltuation. We can say with justification that we are finding ourselves in a complex historic situation which very sharply raises questions which were so often highlighted by Lenin—who will win and along side whom. Our reply is quite clear—we expressed it at our 17th CPCZ Congress. At the 7th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, we approved a program of restructuring which expressed our determination to advance consistently along the path of building socialism, the ideological basis of which dwells in the Marxist- Leninist teaching.

We have stressed more than once, Comrade Jakes said at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, that we see restructuring as a continuation of the revolution and the development of the bequest of the victorious February by whilch the Czechoslovak people freely decided to advance on the path of socialism. We want to implement it in such a way that the social and economic structure is not disrupted—this is the basic prerequisite of its success. Any kind of attacks and attempts aimed at creating tension, chaos, and social shock can only endanger the implementation of the policy of restructuring and democratization and to lead the society to a crisis situation. Thus, our approach proceeds from a deep knowledge that the process of cooperation with all countries, regardless of social systems, with which we not only identify but which we are determined to implement consistently, we see it as a part of our policy on the path of the further development of socialist society. We have no reasons whatsoever to back away from the present poliltical positions. We are in favor of implementing the decisions of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—and this by all signatories.

In this respect we demand the consistent implementation of the content of the declaration which says, and I quote: The participating states will respect each other's sovereign equality and individuality and each other's right freely to choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as their right to determine laws and regulations, end quote. This understanding fully corresponds to the existing political development of the CSSR and its future.

Our CPCZ does not see restructuring as the latest fashion, but as indispensable for effecting fundamental qualitative changes in our socialist society, but without having to retreat from the theoretical tenets of socialism. Our resolve stems not from a dogmatic understanding, as some critics are trying to tell us, but from the historically proven path of building socialism. At the seventh and subsequent ninth CPCZ session and other sessions, our party has been creatively developing the principles of restructuring. We have highlighted the need for a comprehensive approach, because we are firmly convinced that it is vital to carry out a political and economic reform of society. That is why we have started a series of important measures whose qualitative character, both in the legislative sphere and in its economic and political measures, can be compared only with the revolutionary period of 1948, when we laid down the foundations of socialism.

We realize that it is a fundamental task—and this is the important legacy of October and of Lenin's teachings—to win the support of the people for our cause, and ensure that socialist democracy permeates the whole of political and public life. That is why we took the initiative last year to adopt a series of documents aimed at activating the work of the National Front and the national committees. That is why we have launched the initiative whereby all decisive issues should be discussed publicly; we set out this demand at the 15th session of the party Central Committee in the context of the important issue of the environment. In the last few days the draft CPCZ Statutes were published, and by the end of the year we expect to publish and put forward for discussion by the CPCZ and society as a whole important documents on the principles of the CPCZ program, and the goals and basis of socioeconomic policy for the ninth 5-year plan and beyond. Next year we envisage broad public discussion of the CSSR Constitution. In the past 2 years we have enacted important legislation aimed at greater democratization of social and economic life. This is proof that as far as democracy is concerned, we are not only talking about it, but we also intend to make an active contribution to ensuring that all the conditions are created for it.

However, democracy also has another aspect, and that is the aspect of high social and personal responsibility and discipline of every individual. It cannot be interpreted one-sidedly as a manifestation of unrestrained discussion which leads to social disorientation and anarchy.

We are in favor, and this has been stressed on more than one occasion, of a sincere and frank dialogue with all those who want not by words but by deeds to contribute to ensuring that socialism is further improved in our country. Existing political experiences indicate the need for maintaining a necessary degree of tolerance in this area. That tolerance, however, calls for the respect of laws and ethics in relation to society. All those who, inspired from abroad, are attempting to divert our society from the solution of main tasks, as we witnessed on the events of 28 October here in Prague, ought to reflect seriously on these questions. This is why, to successfully carry out the tasks of restructuring, we all need to have not only the feeling of certainty that we are proceeding along the right path, but also inevitable conditions for creative work linked with a high degree of initiative, critical attitude, exactingness in shaping our plan as well as in the practical realization of the tasks of restructuring. We must create everywhere an atmosphere of healthy dissatisfaction, seeking solutions, disturbing the surface of self-satisfaction, complacency, routine, and formalism.

Very appropriate for this stage are the words Lenin, uttered albeit in different circumstances but which are completely applicable and can be addressed to some reformers, and I quote: Less idle talk about working democracy, about freedom, equality, and fraternity, about people's power, and similar things; less bombastic phrases and more ordinary and everyday work, greater concern about every acre of grain, about every tonne of coal. End quote.

The topicality of these words is underscored the more so as there are many people who debate the character of restructuring in our country as well as those who under the influence of events in Poland, Hungary, and other states are beginning to ponder the correctness of our road and are adopting a wait-and-see position. This is in many ways natural. We are only at the outset of restructuring. This is why it is necessary everywhere to put ideological work on the offensive, increase the activity and work of organs and organizations of the National Front, persuade and win over people to restructuring and its practical realization, which begins with the consistent fulfillment of tasks at the workplace, higher quality of work from each of us, whether one is a worker, a graduate engineer, a central body official, or a party functionary.

In this regard, we are turning our attention especially to the young generation, whose happy future we only see in socialism, to share actively by their attitudes and results of their work, in their studies and by their commitment in fulfilling the tasks of restructuring.

When we commemorate great October today, this greatest world- shattering event, when we understand the entire historical process of 72 years as a process of revolution connected with the construction of socialism, then we also have to objectively underscore that socialism has not been and is not a static but rather a dynamic model, that it is a young social system that is developing, and as such it has along its road many pitfalls and unknown obstacles. We are dutybound to fully appreciate that with regard to the quantification of the forces of the capitalist social world and socialism, we are so far in a minority.

We are entering restructuring with the valuable knowledge that the notion that there is a single model for building socialism is incorrect. This was confirmed by the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact representatives. Arising from this knowledge is the right of each country to proceed along its own road of building socialism. This does not mean, however, that the generally valid laws and logic of developing socialist society as well as positive experiences gained thus far should be negated, but rather means we should seek and apply our own ways to enable our society to develop all around.

It is indisputable that that road has many complications and is unclear in many ways. It would be incorrect, however, if by drawing precipitous conclusions we were making judgements about the approaches of individual countries in tackling their own problems in their own countries. We must not in any way underestimate this social development. Equally, however, we must not underestimate the danger threatening us from the infiltration of bourgeois ideologies and economic and political pressures from advanced capitalist countries.

The present stage justifies us to recall with all responsibility the first steps and the first years of building socialism in the Soviet Union as well as in our country. This includes the period of the cold war, economic and political isolation, discrimination on the part of the capitalist states. Despite this, the world socialist system has not collapsed thanks to our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The development in the world has changed and will change many things. We must not, therefore, understand things in isolation. It is necessary to see the enormous social movement in Asia, America, on the African continent, and the efforts of the overwhelming section of the national liberation movement in the world to get rid of the yoke of capitalism. At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind from the historic experience of Great October, as well as from our own path, that capitalism will not help to ensure that socialism is developing. This is because from the very beginning, from the first days of October 1917, capital has been endeavoring to destroy socialism as a social order based on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. Despite this reality, we would like, on the principle of equality and mutual advantage, to cooperate honestly also with capitalist states.

Today, when marking an October Revolution anniversary, the questions of the consistent application of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism are coming doubly into the forefront. This is why in our everyday struggle for the aims of restructuring, for the improvement of socialism, for the development of socialist democracy, we must fight with increased vigor for the victory of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and for the consistent implementation of the revolutionary legacy of Great October. In practice this means at this stage, beside tackling the political aspects of restructuring, to concentrate on tackling the decisive tasks connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism and to make sure that its introduction from January 1, 1990 in all areas of the national economy is manifested in a gradual increase in the performance and effectiveness of the Czechoslovak economy on a qualitatively greater integration in the international division of labor, namely with the Soviet Union, CEMA, as well as the EEC.

The experiences we are able to draw on from the neighboring socialist countries show us that one of the serious causes of the current problems is the insufficient development and implementation of tasks in the field of social and economic development. This experience is of extraordinary significance. It has been shown that it is precisely here, in this area, that lies the most sensitive spot of every socialist state. It is precisely in this area that the attention of bourgeois, capitalist countries, their politicians and ideologists is being concentrated.

They know that by wrecking the economy all the negative political and opposition structures are set in motion at the same time. It is no accident that the process which we can see today has been prepared purposefully for several years. If we want to avoid destabilization and to advance on the path of restructuring and perfection of socialism we have to, in the months of preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, fulfill the task on this year's plan, to prepare seriously for next year's plan and for the ninth 5-year plan. To fulfill the requirements of restructuring means in practice that every enterprise, organization, every link in central management must work better, more flexibily and more responsibly. We must not tolerate shortcomings in the future, nor avoid their solution, nor blame the state, the social system and the communist party for the nonfulfillment of tasks. Behind every nonfulfillment of tasks, behind problems in the fulfillment of the plan in enterprises, trade, health services, education, culture and so on we have to see a specific person, a specific state and economic organization. This is true both for the enterprise sphere, and the central management, and the work of organs and organizations, the CPCZ, the National Front and national committees. No one can doubt the fact that the program stances of the 17th CPCZ Congress, and the deliberations of the CPCZ Central Committee do give a sufficient political scope for our republic to achieve a qualitatively higher standard in all spheres. The basic problem has been and remains the insufficient and inconsistent fulfilment of tasks and that is why the revolutionary ideas of restructuring and its program must be linked with revolutionary exactingness and discipline and a strict approch when assessing the results of every individual. This is the only way we can achieve fundamental changes in the life of our society. This is the only way we can ensure balanced development and prosperity. We do not have any reasons, comrades, esteemed fellow citizens, to give in to pessimistic moods and panic spread by some fellow citizens with considerable help from foreign information media.

We are convinced that the path of restructuring in the USSR and in our country will in the future strengthen the position of socialism but this, also means overcoming problems, difficulties and differences of view as well as holding creative dialogue at the same time to solve all problems specifically and in a businesslike manner. We are opening sincere scope for cooperation with our neighbors. We do not see differences in political and ideological views as an obstacle to the normal development of our relations. We are firmly determined to continue to cooperate closely with USSR which has been and continues to be our closest ally and friend.

With a sense of great responsibility for our future the CPCZ urgently appeals to all citizens of Czechoslovakia for active participation in the solution of the tasks of restructuring as a guarantee that socialism in Czechoslovakia will be developed as a highly humane and democratic social system, ensuring the comprehensive development of personality of each citizen, his social and economic certainties, and his living standards. We are firmly resolved to get rid of all that burdens and slows us down on this path. In this, comrades, esteemed fellow citizens, we see the very meaning and the implementation of the legacy of ideas of Great October. In this we also see our happier future.

Let the legacy of ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution develop further! Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live the cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ, and the brotherhood of peoples of the Soviet Union and the CSSR!

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on GDR Emigrants

LD0811134889 Prague CTK in English
0843 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia has exerted intensive diplomatic efforts towards the GDR and FRG to solve the problems created by the mass assembly of GDR citizens in the FRG Embassy in Prague in the past few weeks, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubomir Marsik said.

Reacting to numerous readers' questions why the GDR citizens leave for the FRG through the Czechoslovak territory he said that the Czechoslovak side has stressed several times that it is only the GDR which is able to stop the stream of emigrants from the country through the Czechoslovak territory.

In its procedure Czechoslovakia consistently ensued from the valid international obligations and treaties with the GDR and has taken no unilateral steps. It has respected and fully supported the GDR stand in connection with the application of its legitimate sovereign right to solve the emigration of their citizens regardless of the constant political pressure exerted on Czechoslovakia by the West German mass communication media. The steps taken to solve the complicated situation connected with the emigration of GDR citizens to the FRG were taken by the Czechoslovak side after an agreement with the GDR and naturally with the FRG, he said.

GDR's Internal Political Situation 'Not Easy'

AU0911120589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 8 Nov 89 p 6

[Article by Berlin correspondent Vladimir Plesnik: "Many Question Marks"]

[Text] If you do not get up very early here in Berlin these days, you consciously risk being left without a single copy of a newspaper. Until recently, the subway used to be stiffly quiet in the morning. Nowadays, high school students with textbooks under their arms engage in heated arguments, now also drawing other passengers into the discussion.

The last 3 or 4 weeks of the internal political life in the GDR have also been marked by the dramatic scenes of political demonstrations, which accompany, as it were, the no less dramatic scenes of fugitives seeking their illusions in the other German state.

The first phenomenon is probably tied to the other, and sooner or later an explanation for it will be found in analyses that will be carried out in the GDR.

It is indisputable that the time has come in the GDR to seriously ponder the paths of the country's direction. Everywhere—at meetings of party aktivs, in factories, at political demonstrations and meetings, at the most varied forums—discussions revolve, in fact, around one and the same thing: The chronicle of events written in the past years did not contain only bright pages. However, in no case, even by the grossest simplification, is it possible to state on the other hand that everything our neighbors have done so far was not right.

The fact is becoming apparent that under a smooth and calm surface, various unresolved problems were dormant which have started to gradually appear. Noisy slogans were used to disguise the actual state of affairs, which is more complex than it seemed; warning signals were not noted; one got bogged down in routine, uncreative stereotypes; and people's trust in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and rank-and-file communists' trust in the former leadership was getting weaker and, gradually, getting lost, as the daily JUNGE WELT put it. The dramatic events of the last few weeks have gone down forever in the memory of perhaps every inhabitant of the GDR. People were asking with concern: What will happen now, and how will the situation develop?

In these days of tension, dramas, and escalating unrest, the SED looked truth in the eye. "It is certain that in the preceding months we did not assess with sufficient realism the essence of the social development in our country and did not draw timely and appropriate conclusions from it," stressed Egon Krenz at the ninth session of the SED Central Committee. "With this session we will initiate changes and will again launch a political and ideological offensive." On the SED's initiative, the offer of a most wide- ranging civil dialogue was made. Representatives of the party and state leadership, the state administration, public organizations, and the other parties 'of the National Front meet practically every day, including Saturdays and Sundays, with the workers of combines and production cooperatives; they do not even shy away from the occasionally pretty "sharp" debates at various rallies. Only a few hours after being elected to the highest party post, Egon Krenz visited the 7 October Engineering Plant. The people working with the machines spoke to him off-the-cuff, frankly, making no bones about their views. At a discussion forum of 22,000 residents of the capital with party, state, and church officials, at which tempestuous emotions alternated in waves with level-headed assessments, Guenter Schabowski virtually did not move from the microphone for 5 hours.

One thing is characteristic and all readers' letters on the pages of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND agree with it in one way or another: Let us rectify shortcomings and let us draw conclusions, all for the benefit of increasing the attractiveness of socialism, of a modern socialism which counts on everyone.

The intense social ferment to which there is no analogy in the history of the country has set off the roulette of many interests, interests of honest citizens, but at the same time, as is also becoming apparent, of interests which have and do not want to have anything in common with the socialist character of the country. This, too, forms part of the events here and the truth about them would be incomplete without these facts.

One thing is certain: The GDR has entered a new stage, a period which will not be easy and which contains many question marks.

GDR Official on Refugee Exodus Via Prague

AU0911115689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 89 p 2

[Response by Luboz Kazda in the "Readers Ask" column: "On the Transit of GDR Citizens Through the CSSR"]

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, GDR citizens who have decided to emigrate to the FRG are currently passing through Czechoslovakia. In this connection, a number of readers have asked our editorial office why, precisely, via our territory?

We asked Andreas Zemmrich, first secretary of the GDR Embassy in Prague, and Lubomir Marsik, spokesman of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for an explanation.

A. Zemmrich stressed that although the GDR has pointed out many times that it is better to apply through the normal channels to permanently emigrate, that is, to obtain official [radne] permission from the appropriate authorities, many GDR citizens continue to misuse the possibility of visa-free and passport-free travel to the CSSR in order to go to the FRG mission in Prague to emigrate.

On 3 November this year, an agreement was reached between the GDR, the CSSR, and the FRG on direct emigration to the FRG by GDR citizens who are in the CSSR. The purpose of that agreement is to prevent a repetition of all that the Prague citizens experienced in September and at the beginning of October this year. The flexible realization of the agreement was achieved thanks largely to the magnanimous attitude of the CSSR, of the Czechoslovak authorities.

On Monday [6 November] the draft of the GDR Law on Foreign Travel was published. This will be the subject of public discussion until the end of November and will be submitted to the GDR People's Chamber for debate before the end of the year. This draft law contains regulations for permament emigration, which will considerably ease the GDR citizens' transit via Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Expansion of CSSR-Danish Joint Ventures Discussed

AU0711150989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A session of the joint Czechoslovak-Danish Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation ended in Prague on Friday [3 November]. The session assessed, among other things, the experience from joint ventures to date and discussed the possibility to expand such undertakings further. Two joint ventures with Danish participation are currently operating in the CSSR, and the construction of a joint hotel in Prague-Kacerov is planned. The Days of Danish Technology were a part of the deliberations.

Official on 'Democratization of Culture'

AU0811160389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with Jaroslav Cejka, deputy head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Education, Science, and Culture Department, by Josef Holy: "Cultural Policy: Principles and Practice;" date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Holy] How would you briefly express the basic features of the current cultural policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and its metamorphosis?

[Cejka] I do not think that the word metamorphosis is quite appropriate. When I hear the word, I must think of Kafka's famous story. [passage omitted]

In our case, the changes are not that fundamental and dramatic.

The basic postulates of the CPCZ's cultural policy remain the same, in fact—democratization of culture, protection of the cultural heritage, and the development of people's creativity and of their ethical and aesthetic feelings.

Let us have a look at the democratization of culture, for instance. [passage omitted]

The desirable participation of the people in the creation and dissemination of artistic values and in the management of this process has been replaced, to a formidable extent, by the stereotypical, often insensitive, and sometimes even downright harmful activity of some cultural bureaucrats who can hardly be regarded as representatives of the will of the people. They have not been elected by the people, are not directly answerable to the people for their decisions, and, in the worse cases, do not even care to know people's views.

With these harsh words I definitely do not want to belittle the work of those who have given all their strength and talent into the service of the management of culture. [passage omitted] I only criticize those self-styled "high priests" of culture who regard their subjective and mostly also incompetent views as valid norms of cultural policy. [passage omitted]

Decisions on works of art should be made by artists themselves and by highly qualified and high-principled staffers of the relevant artistic institutions. In disseminating and evaluating artistic values, account should be taken of both the views and needs of readers, spectators, and listeners and of the assessment of art critics. Naturally, the interests of the state, too, must be borne in mind in the sensitive area of cultural policy. However, they must not be placed higher than the interests and needs of the people. The interests of the socialist state must be identical with the interests of the people.

[Holy] We are talking about the restructuring and democratization of culture. I believe that one of the basic tasks of restructuring is the unification of the artistic and cultural front. The situation in this sphere may seem to be complicated but I am convinced that a true talent cannot remain forever outside the movement of humanization [hnuti humanizace].

[Cejka] This is a sensitive matter. Everything depends on what sort of unification we have in mind. But we will probably agree in that it can only be unification on the basis of artistic progress and progress of ideas, on the basis of the humanization of society. [passage omitted]

There is today an evident differentiation also among those who for various reasons stood, or still stand, outside the art unions or even outside the so-called official culture. I cannot carry out any stocktaking at this place but, for the sake of illustration, I would like to cite at least a few examples.

Recently the so-called Dictionary of Czech Writers got into my hands. This is the one that was published in 1982 in Josef Skvorecky's publishing house in Toronto and which is subtitled "An Attempt at the Reconstruction of the History of Czech Literature 1948-1979." According to the publisher, the dictionary encompasses "exile and samizdat authors who are either proscribed or misinterpreted in Czechoslovakia."

This—to use once again the words of the publisher—"numerically surprisingly strong and artistically very significant part of contemporary Czech literature" is represented in the dictionary by 455 names. At first sight, this is indeed an astounding figure. But! Most cases do not involve genuine writers at all. Essayists, philosophers, political scientists, art historians, and authors of one or two unpublished manuscripts—unpublished not for political but for purely artistic reasons—are in the majority. Authors who have been living abroad for more than 40 years and who publish their works in languages other than Czech, so that they cannot be properly regarded as Czech writers, are also included. Some of the authors listed have already died and the names of many others have completely disappeared from the domestic literary awareness because their work has never been of any distinct artistic value. Moreover, the majority of authors who have been and are really significant for Czech literature have returned to public literary life long ago. Do you want me to mention some names?

[Holy] Of course.

[Cejka] Only at random: Adolf Branald, Miroslav Holub, Bohumil Hrabal, Oldrich Mikulasek, Jan Skacel, and Jaroslav Seifert. Others are returning now: Ivan Blatny, Josef Hruby, Ivan Klima, Karel Siktanc, Pavel Srut, Ivan Wernisch, Josef Topol, and many others.

[Holy] Will this process of differentiation continue?

[Cejka] I am sure. Works which have a certain artistic value, do not distort Czechoslovak reality, and are not written from anticommunist positions—regardless of whether they were created in Czechoslovakia or abroad—can be integrated into Czech and Slovak literature or, to be more accurate, included in the edition plans of Czechoslovak publishing houses. The prerequisite is, of course, that the authors themselves exert the necessary initiative. It is a fact that many of them are not interested in it and prefer to have their works published in the West.

[Holy] Are we being deprived of much by this?

[Cejka] In emigre and so-called samizdat literature, there is precious little of what meets the aforesaid criteria. Here, too, there can therefore be talk of some sort of peaceful coexistence rather than of unification. At issue are better mutual information, a more systematic evaluation of literature, and the gradual establishment of a dialogue, which, however, must not become a monologue or a power play, as was the case during the recent meeting [of emigre authors—FBIS] at Franken, FRG, which was attended by our writers Ballek, Kolar, Prouza, and Sutovec as observers.

[Holy] And what about the other artistic genres?

[Cejka] The situation in the theater, film, the fine arts, and music is much easier in this respect. Last year's Salon of Prague visual artists, the exhibitions of the "The Stubborn" and "12.15" groups, and other exhibitions of the fine arts suggested that in the future no one will be able to use any longer as an excuse restrictions of artistic life, alleged bans, or the suppression of some authors or artistic currents.

This year's national festival "The Theater Today" in Ostrava contributed—or should at least contribute—to the sobering up of those who fight only for "blacklisted" topics and personalities. This is at least my judgment based on critics' press reviews, which stated that while Slovak theater artists scored success primarily because they came to the festival with a clearly defined view of the theater and undeniable quality, Czech theater artists staked everything on topics and names that smack of forbidden fruit.

And, finally, let us consider this year's Porta [national festival of folk and country music], lest we move only in the spheres of the "high" arts. It proved that "excommunications" are disappearing fast, but it also demonstrated that it matters how, and for what, singer-songwriters who had built their popularity on their erstwhile difficulties will want to use their newly granted opportunity. Whether they will use it for responsible artistic work or merely for superficial political commentation or even for insults and provocations.

[Holy] Since you have already mentioned forbidden fruit, I would like to ask whether it is true that some works of art are still proscribed and that even new bans have appeared, affecting the activity of some artists. At discussions with RUDE PRAVO readers, these are practically the only questions concerning the sphere of culture that are being asked. As I was preparing myself for this interview, I asked several young people what question they would like to put to you. They agreed on the following question: The books of so-called blacklisted authors, whether published in Czechoslovakia in the sixties or later abroad, enjoy great popularity, among young people in particular. They are looking in them for what they were not told at school nor anywhere else. And so they often ignore their aesthetic values, if only they can put their hand on them. Do you not think that making these works freely available would help the young generation to better orient itself in both modern literature and history? After all, fruit which is forbidden is the most enticing fruit and it is precisely to this that not only the selection of books but often the whole scale of values of young people is subordinated.

[Cejka] I have already discussed the problem of publishing the contemporary works of emigres and samizdat authors. As far as their books published in Czechoslovak publishing houses in the sixties are concerned, many of them have already been transferred from the so- called special funds to public libraries (provided that they were in a well-preserved condition). This process will evidently continue. A decision has also been made on releasing the so-called "films kept under lock and key" for distribution. The first of them will appear in film clubs toward the end of this year, others will follow suit as soon as their copies are ready.

I believe that this is good. The one hand, people with a genuine interest in the cinematic art will gain access to some undeniable values of art (I am thinking, for example, of some Evald Schorm films or of Menzel's "Larks on the String," which is based on motives from Bohumil Hrabal's prose), on the other hand, the bubble of one large and artificially nourished myth will finally burst.

Explicitly anticommunist works created not only abroad but, from time to time, also in our country are something altogether different, however. I am an opponent of unnecessary bans, whether they are hanging on individual apple trees or on entire fenced-in orchards. However, neither would I like to have anything in common with the distribution of fruits contaminated by poisonous substances.

As far as I know, however, people are at present interested in alleged bans on activities of some artists in connection with various petitions and pressure events. I would, therefore, like to use this opportunity and state with all due responsibility that the central authorities, neither the party nor the state ones, have issued any such ban, despite the fact that they have been exposed to various pressures in this context. One can always find people who regard the dissemination of artistic values as some sort of a service of charity to the artist. This is an error, however. The dissemination of works of art is primarily a service to readers, spectators, and listeners. There is no need to give up real values just because their authors have expressed different views and, mostly, also a startling lack of political maturity. We should also not lend an ear to social demagogy operating with the high earnings of some artists. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, it would be naive and politically highly imprudent if we closed our eyes to the fact that some cultural institutions, newspapers, and journals are trying to give priority precisely to those artists who hold extremist and, in isolated cases, even overtly antisocialist attitudes. We must uncompromisingly insist that in the selection of collaborators from the ranks of artists the responsible officials from cultural institutions and the media proceed from their talent, achieved artistic results, present creative potentials, and their attitudes as citizens and that they prevent the political misuse of artistic performances and publications in the media. No one must delegate his own responsibility to others in this regard, call for "clear guidelines," or refer to some lists of names whose main producer and most avid distributor is Radio Free Europe. [passage omitted]

It can generally be said that everyday cultural policy must rid itself of provincial pressures, that it must be broader-minded and more ambitious. If we will timely discover, assert, and defend genuine values and talents, we will have far fewer problems with pseudo-values and with attempts to misuse culture and the arts against socialism and against restructuring. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Appearances for 26 Oct - 1 Nov

AU0811202589

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 27 October to 2 November report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Frantisek Hanus, received Oleg Baklanov, a CPSU secretary, in Prague on 27 October. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Oct 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, Milan Vaclavik, and Frantisek Kincl were present at an oath-taking ceremony on Wenceslas Square in Prague on 28 October. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Oct 89 pp 1,2)

Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Stepan attended a Czech National Council session in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 89 pp 1,2)

Ivan Knotek and Frantisek Hanus attended a conference of regional party secretaries on the tasks of the economy, in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak and Pavel Hrivnak attended a consultative meeting of functionaries from regional party and state bodies in Slovakia, in Bratislava on 31 October. (PRAVDA 1 Nov 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, Josef Haman, and Frantisek Hanus attended a session of the CPCZ Economic Commission, in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee secretary, accompanied Oleg Baklanov, a CPSU secretary, on a tour of industrial enterprises in South Moravia, in Uherske Hradiste on 26 October. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct 89 p 2) He received a delegation from the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 89 p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee, was present when a new television transmitter was put into operation in Gottwaldov on 30 October. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct 89 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, chaired a session of a CPCZ Central Committee commission approving the draft of the CPCZ Statutes, in Prague on 26 October. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct 89 p 1)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Socialist Republic premier, attended a session of the Slovak National Council, in Bratislava on 31 October. (PRAVDA 1 Nov 89 p 1)

Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, presented an award to the deputy chairman of the People's Chamber, in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, attended a rally marking the 71st anniversary of the republic's founding, in Bratislava on 26 October. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct 89 pp 1,2) He chaired a session of the Slovak National Front Central Committee Presidium, in Bratislava on 26 October. (PRAVDA 27 Oct 89 p 1) He attended a meeting of the party organization in the Bratislava PRAVDA editorial office, in Bratislava on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received the Mongolian deputy premier, in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, attended a National Day reception at the Austrian Embassy, in Prague on 26 October. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct 89 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech Socialist Republic premier, received an RSFSR Supreme Soviet secretary, in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, presented an award to a Prague party official, in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 89 p 2) He chaired a session of the Prague National Front on 30 October. (VECERNI PRAHA 31 Oct 89 p 1) He chaired a session of the Prague party commission for drafting a law on the CSSR capital on 30 October. (VECERNI PRAHA 31 Oct 89 p 1)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, attended a rally organized by the National Front on 71st anniversary of the republic's founding, in Prague on 26 October. (RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct 89 pp 1,2) He received Stepan Chistoplyasov, secretary of RSFSR Presidium, in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, received 22 textile workers who had completed their tasks for the entire 5-year plan, in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 89 p 2)

4th SED Conference Called for 15-17 Dec

LD0911114589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1128 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 10th session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee has called the 4th SED Conference in Berlin for 15 to 17 December 1989.

Agenda of Conference

LD0911125189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1159 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On behalf of the editorial commission of the 10th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] session and as a result of many applications, proposals, and demands to the plenum, [Politburo member] Siegfried Lorenz proposed convening an SED Conference. He urged this be held as soon as possible. The focus of the conference, Lorenz said, should be the questions of party renewal, which are being discussed very passionately and constructively in the party collectives these days.

The Central Committee plenum agreed with the proposal and adopted the following decision:

Decision on the preparation and holding of an SED party conference.

The 10th session of the SED Central Committee convenes the 4th SED conference in Berlin for 15 to 17 December 1989.

This decision thereby meets the demand in the basic organizations, from kreis [district] and bezirk [area] organizations, very many comrades, workers, collective farmers, and members of the intelligentsia.

The party conference aims to assess the current situation in the party and in the country, to discuss tasks for the further preparation of the 12th SED Congress, and to decide changes in the Central Committee.

Agenda:

1. On the current situation in the SED and the country and on the tasks of the party in socialist renewal. Speaker: Comrade Egon Krenz, SED Central Committee general secretary

2. Discussion

3. Changes in the Constitution of the Central Committee and of the Central Auditing Commission

4. Adoption of decisions

In accordance with the statutes of the SED, the Central Committee lays down the following principles on the electoral method for preparing the party conference:

For every 750 members and candidate members of the SED, one delegate is elected with a valid vote for decision-making to the party conference.

The election of delegates to the party conference takes place at kreis delegates conferences up to 3 December 1989. The kreis organizations will establish the delegates ratio for the kreis delegates conferences.

The delegates to the kreis delegates conferences will be elected by members meetings or delegates conferences of the basic organizations or of the party organizations up to 26 November 1989.

Party organizations with a strength of 750 or more members and candidate members have the option of electing their delegates, in accordance with the delegates ratio, directly to the party conference.

The kreis delegates conferences receive reports from the kreis organizations on their activity on the basis of the 10th meeting of the SED Central Committee and elect the delegates to the 4th party conference directly and secretly.

More potential candidates for election as delegates to the party conference may be proposed by the kreis delegates conferences than are able to be elected as delegates.

Thousands of Party Members Demonstrate

LD0811153389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1517 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Thousands of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members from Berlin grassroots organizations demonstrated in front of the SED Central Committee building in Berlin Wednesday afternoon to show their determination to work for a credible renewal of the party. The demonstrators followed a call from the grass-roots organization of the Center for Scientific Instrument Building under the GDR Academy of Sciences, and the Kreis [district] organizations of the academy also followed the call.

The first speaker to address the demonstrators was the writer Helga Koenigsdorf. She stressed the seriousness of the present situation and, amid applause, called upon young people, doctors, and nurses not to leave the country in the lurch.

Schabowski Meets Protesters

LD0811163789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Leaving his place in the plenary hall for a short time, Politburo member Guenter Schabowski on Wednesday afternoon met many thousands of members of Berlin party organizations in front of the Central Committee building and informed them of the course to date of the 10th Central Committee session. The rally participants on the Werdersche Markt heavily applauded his announcement that the old Politburo had resigned in view of their responsibility for the situation which had arisen in the GDR. Those gathered received his information on the constitution of the newly elected Politburo with approving applause in some cases, but also with expressions of displeasure.

A party conference was demanded for this year with banners and loud chants by the crowd of party members gathered there, who had been called to the rally by the basic organizations of the Academy of Sciences.

Guenter Schabowski, who appeared before the Berlin party members with the consent of the Central Committee, which is sitting in session, said that he would convey this demand to the plenum. He also wanted to report how the results of the elections for the Politburo had been received by the members. He thanked all rally participants for their great commitment, which had been expressed with this assembly, and for the will to cooperate in the renewal of party and society.

Placards in the crowd demanded "Immediate renewal of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]"; "Comrades of the Central Committee: Have courage to act"; "Back to the statutes"; and "For our children: renewed socialism." participants shouted loudly in chorus: "We are the party."

Krenz, Schabowski Speak

LD0811212889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2036 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Thousands of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members from Berlin basic organizations stated today in front of the SED Central Committee building in Berlin, their resolution to act for a credible renewal of the party. [passage omitted]

Leaving his seat in the plenary hall for a short time, Politburo Member Guenter Schabowski informed the demonstrators on the Werdersche Markt of events at the 10th Central Committee session.

He supported the comments of the speaker before him, to whom he expressed his respect. The demands of the comrades without party function from the Secura works were those which the party needs at this time. "It is quite elementary and clear, when in these turbulent days it is a matter of the self-image of our party or—in other words—the renewal of our party, that the comrades in the basic organizations have to meet, clear up, and announce their position, as you are doing here today," the politician underlined. [passage omitted]

Immediately after finishing his report to the 10th plenum, the general secretary appeared before the participants in the rally. He admitted that this kind of continuation of the Central Committee session is also something new for him. "But I understand that you want to fully support the renewal of the party," he shouted to strong applause. He has received hundreds, indeed thousands of letters in the past days, and could promise that all proposals and requests contained in them would be fed into the work of this plenum.

When the call for a party conference this year was heard again and again, he requested understanding. In the interest of democracy, he cannot alone anticipate the result of discussion at this Central Committee session.

Moved by the many statements of intense interest by those assembled on events at the Central Committee, Egon Krenz said that we will convert everything which we are resolving now into deeds. It is that which we want: A socialism which is economically effective, politically democratic, morally clean, and which addresses the people in all areas. The agreement of those assembled was again expressed in strong applause.

Krenz Promises New Measures

LD0811175989 Hamburg DPA in German 1729 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Socialist Unity Party of Germany General Secretary Egon Krenz spoke spontaneously on Wednesday evening before party delegations from East Berlin factories that had gathered before the Central Committee building for a demonstration. The Central Committee session was interrupted for this.

The speech, at which Guenter Schabowski was also present, was carried by GDR TV in a live program addition. The crowd had demanded beforehand the convening of an extraordinary party congress.

Krenz said in front of the several thousand people that concrete deeds would be announced this Thursday or Friday following the Central Committee session. He did not intend now to explain his viewpoint in a short version. "I will not issue promises in two sentences. Read my speech." Krenz demanded a socialism "that is economically effective, politically democratic, morally clean, and addresses the people." [passage omitted]

First Day of SED CC Plenum Closes

LD0811181289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1746 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today's meeting of the [SED] Central Committee, the first day of the consultation, ended at 1830. The meeting will continue tomorrow at 1000 with a debate.

Plenum Resumes

LD0911092989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0911 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee today continued its 10th session, with an agenda of discussion and debates. [passage omitted]

'Action Program' Discussed

LD0911111789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1057 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The SED CC [Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee] today continued its 10th session. The first speakers were Christa Hermann, first secretary of the Reichenbach District (Kreis) Executive; Construction Industry Minister Wolfgang Junker; Professor Mebel, doctor and chairman of the GDR section of the International Association of Doctors for the Prevention of Nuclear War; Politburo member Guenter Schabowski; and Waldemar Liemen, party secretary of the potash enterprise "Werra' Merkers.

On the agenda are the party action program and the report made by General Secretary Egon Krenz. [passage omitted]

Modrow Speaks

LD0911135889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1328 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Politburo member Hans Modrow said during the 10th meeting of the SED CC [Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee] today, that the issue at hand is the existence of the party and socialism in the GDR, a renewed socialism. During the discussion which began today he apparently spoke about the causes of the present situation and cited misjudgements, incidences of glossing over, and serious errors which were made. The 11th party congress missed the opportunity for a necessary change. Bitterness is prevalent in the party. It is important now that the ability exists that action with members of grass-roots organizations be re-established. Waiting and vacillating only raises the pressure.

Modrow criticized the work of the People's Chamber. The deputies should be genuine representatives of the people. The change introduced in society now urgently requires the renewal of the working class party.

Hans Modrow was elected to the Politburo yesterday.

Chamber Health Committee Calls for Session

LD0811161989 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1202 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The GDR People's Chamber Health Committee calls on the presidium of the supreme people's representative body to announce the date for a plenary session in the course of this very day. With every hour that the people's representative body fails to submit a date, it is losing prestige and credibility. In view of the alarming staff shortage in hospitals and polyclinics, a demand was made for realistic figures to be submitted. Some 7,000 health and social workers have left the GDR this year, including 1,500 doctors. A real state of emergency has arisen in many districts. One simply cannot understand why at the government hospital in Berlin such an apparently large number of doctors were assigned to take care of just a small group of prominent government officials. The polyclinics for members of staff at the State Security Ministry has also failed to exhaust their capacity and will have to be made available to the general public.

Schabowski Announces Changed Portfolios

LD0811205189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1938 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At an international press conference in Berlin this evening Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member; Marianne Weinhauer, Central Committee member and section head in the Cottbus Textile Combine; and Erich Postler, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Gera Area Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Executive, spoke about the first day of consultations at the 10th plenum of the SED Central Committee. Guenter Schabowski began by announcing that on the following days as well, he will report in this way on the course of the Central Committee meeting. The text of the speech by General Secretary Egon Krenz will be published in Thursday's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. The same will apply to all speeches in the debate.

In reply to a question, Guenter Schabowski pointed to the reduction in the Politburo's numbers and the working nature of the body which this made apparent. Instead of 26 members and candidate members it now consisted of 11 members and 6 candidate members, to whom should be added the 2 elected "department directors." There has also been a certain rejuvenation. He announced the following changed portfolios: Wolfgang Herger will deal with state and legal matters and with protection and security organs matters; Johannes Chemnitzer will look after the Agriculture Department; Inge Lange retains her Women's Affairs Department; Siegfried Lorenz is responsible for the Party Organs Department; Wolfgang Rauchfuss is responsible for the area of economy, trade, and supply; Guenter Schabowski is responsible for information and media policy; Guenter Sieber's portfolio has not yet been finally decided; and Jochen Willerding will look after foreign policy and international policy affairs.

SED Holds Talks With New Forum in Frankfurt

AU0911110689 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 6 Nov 89 p 2

[NEUE ZEIT/ADN report: "SED-New Forum Talk in Frankfurt Bezirk"]

[Text] Frankfurt (Oder) (NZ/ADN)—Whether large halls and squares are the right place for a constructive dialogue can be doubted, Christa Zellmer, first secretary of the Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], stated in a press interview after a several-hour meeting with the Frankfurt citizens' New Forum committee.

The New Forum does not approve of the fact that Berlin is better supplied than Frankfurt and the bezirk city better than the kreis towns, Rolf Ruediger Henrich stated. In his opinion, local border traffic with Poland and Berlin (West) can be quickly implemented.

However, the admission of the New Forum finally depends on the decision of the Interior Ministry, the first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership, stressed.

Local Officials Talk With New Forum

LD0811164589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As was stated to ADN, responsible officials of the local councils are presently conducting talks with representatives of New Forum—in Cottbus, Frankfurt (Oder), Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Magdeburg—who registered their intentions to found an association.

The application was confirmed at those places where it is documented that the activities of New Forum are taking place in agreement with the principles and objectives of the GDR Constitution.

Further, it was stated that legal preconditions for founding the New Forum association now exist. In these cases it is necessary, representatives of New Forum were told that, in order for New Forum to achieve legal status, documents should be filed for state recognition in accordance with the decree on the founding and activity of associations of 6.11.1975 (Legal Gazette I, number 44/75).

Interior Ministry Recognizes New Forum

LD0811193689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Interior Ministry has confirmed recognition of New Forum.

A talk took place at the ministry today with Baerbel Bohley, Jutta Seidel, and the lawyer Dr Gregor Gysi about a petition which relates to the registration of New Forum as an association. According to a statement by the ministry press office, Baerbel Bohley and Jutta Seidel once again stressed that the future activity of New Forum is to be conducted on the basis of the Constitution. It was then announced that the registration has now been confirmed by the Interior Ministry.

The applicants may, in line with the decree on associations, draft their founding documents within 3 months and submit them to the Interior Ministry. On this basis, after examination of the legal preconditions, state recognition will be pronounced by the head of the Internal Afairs Department of the Interior Ministry. The talk was conducted by the head of the legal department of the GDR Council of Ministers, Dr Klaus Mehnert, and by the deputy head of the Internal Affairs Department of the Interior Ministry, Wolfgang Benedix.

New Forum Spokeswoman on Recent Developments

AU0811170889 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 8 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with New Forum spokeswoman Baerbel Bohley by Martin Bernert: "Beautiful Words Do Not Empty the Streets"; in East Berlin, date not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: How far can the development in the GDR still go?

Bohley: The "dialogue," which has now started, has been possible only because of the pressure of the population. It did not come about because the rulers realized that it is necessary.

DER STANDARD: You said "dialogue" in quotation marks. How do you imagine a dialogue without quotation marks?

Bohley: For me a dialogue without quotation marks has to be an equal dialogue. This is not yet the case, because the dialogue partner has not been institutionalized. In the long run, it is impossible that 20,000 people step forward and present their individual problems. The state institutions and parties must be faced with a social partner.

DER STANDARD: New Forum for instance?

Bohley: For instance.

DER STANDARD: To which extent is New Forum qualitatively and quantitatively rooted in the population?

Bohley: It is really represented very strongly in terms of quantity. There are many workers in it and many people from the intelligentsia. New Forum is a broad forum, it goes right through the entire society and is represented in the entire GDR from north to south.

DER STANDARD: With which party or organization outside the GDR would you compare New Forum?

Bohley: I think that it can best be compared with Solidarity in 1980.

DER STANDARD: What are your next goals?

Bohley: First of all, legalization, because there are many things linked with it for us. Then renting rooms, publishing a newspaper, being able to earn money. Furthermore, changes, in particular in the legal system; a different penal code for instance.

DER STANDARD: If one bases judgment on the current mood in the GDR, is it possible to force some more things in the new future?

Bohley: So far, only very few things have been forced. The amnesty for the people, who were beaten and arrested, because they participated in demonstrations at the beginning of October, is only an amnesty, that is mercy. But we do not want mercy, but rights. We demand an investigation committee. The culprits are to be found and held accountable.

DER STANDARD: FRG politicians have said very clearly that Bonn is not willing to participate in financing the easing of travel restrictions for GDR citizens. Could this be an obstacle to a more liberal travel law?

Bohley: There is the demand that the GDR accounts for the foreign currency which it earns. No one in our country knows what it does with it. DM9 billion per year must be used for something. There must be a check, and then the people have to decide themselves what they want to do with the foreign currency—whether they want to travel or whether they want to have the health sector improved, or whatever.

DER STANDARD: The Leipzig secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany said last week that demonstrations can also brake the development....

Bohley: Demonstrations certainly do not brake the development. Above all, it is impossible to get the people to leave the streets—not with beautiful words, anyway.

'Democracy Now' Reacts to New Politburo

LD0811154689 Hamburg DPA in German 1502 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR citizens' movement "Democracy Now" sees in the new Politburo "no solution to the existing crisis." "New names do not mean new policies," it says in an initial statement conveyed to DPA on Wednesday. Just how unwilling the SED is to carry out reforms is shown in the fact that there are no women in the highest leadership committees of the party, it said further.

It can only come to a real change if the SED gives up its claim to leadership. "Democracy Now" is however prepared to speak "at an equal level" with proven reformers such as Hans Modrow and Guenter Schabowski and to search for a solution to the present crisis.

Opposition Member Discusses New Parties

AU0711220289 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Interview with Pastor Eppelmann from the "Democratic Awakening" (Demokratischer Aufbruch) by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Coudenhove-Kalergi] Pastor Eppelmann, massive demonstrations have been staged in all parts of the GDR recently. The demand that was most frequently put forth was that there must be an end to the claim of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to leadership, and that free elections must be allowed. What does the opposition say, how far can you meet this demand?

[Eppelmann] We are only at the beginning. I have learned that two new parties have been established besides the known parties in the GDR: the SDP, the Social Democratic Party, and our party, the Democratic Awakening. Both parties are willing to assume political responsibility. However, we know that we alone are not in a position to do this. It remains to be seen how things will develop. More parties will certainly be founded in the future, or we may have changed block parties in the future, or a changed SED.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] The New Forum does not want to establish itself as a party.

[Eppelmann] The announcements and statements by known representatives of the New Forum, including lawyer Rolf Henrich, hint that the New Forum does not want to be a party and that it accepts the SED's claim to leadership, for the time being at least.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] How will things develop? It is hardly conceivable that you will become interior minister tomorrow, for example.

[Eppelmann] This is indeed hardly conceivable.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] How can these tiny groups that until recently consisted only of a few friends, constitute themselves as parties. How do you think this emerging political landscape will further develop?

[Eppelmann] Currently we are doing something that still lies in the future. We are doing something that does not really exist yet. We are practicing freedom of speech, we are practicing the right to stage demonstrations, and we are founding parties. Today's edition of NEUE ZEIT, the organ of the Christian Democratic Union, on page 2, reports that the party Democratic Awakening has been founded. This is announced by the paper despite the fact that there is no law in the GDR that allows the founding of parties.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] You are a member of its leadership.

[Eppelmann] This is right. We are doing things at the moment which we consider absolutely necessary for the further development of our country. However, we need time to create structures, and time to work out a concept. To do this, we rely on the support of the numerous people in our country who have ideas, and who are willing to develop concepts on the basis of their ideas, and to contribute to creating something sensible.

New Independent Party's Chief Outlines Aims

PM0811182989 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE SONDAG in Danish 5 Nov 89 p 4 (MAGASIN supplement)

[Report on interview with Democratic Awakening chairman Wolfgang Schnur by Jorn Mikkelsen: "GDR Citizens Now Speak Without Fear"]

[Text] "GDR citizens now speak without fear," said Wolfgang Schnur, the chairman of a new independent socialist party in the GDR, where the grass roots are now getting ready. "The GDR will continue to be socialist, and reunification is not on the agenda."

Fed by the massive demonstrations throughout the GDR, the hitherto somewhat diffuse opposition groups are now preparing themselves to come in from the streets into the formalized parliamentary assemblies in Egon Krenz' "new" GDR.

For the moment official recognition is slow in coming, but it will come, people say with confidence. The incipient dialogue between the regime's men and the street demonstrators is a first important step. In the view of the opposition groups more will follow soon.

A Social Democratic Party has emerged alongside New Forum and Democracy Now, and last weekend 200 delegates met in East Berlin to decide that they want to establish yet another independent party before 1 May next year. The party bears the name Democratic Awakening [DA] and has its headquarters in Berlin.

The gathering elected lawyer Wolfgang Schnur from Rostock chairman. He has for years attracted attention for taking on the defense of military objectors, and he was also the lawyer of a couple of the GDR citizens who entered the Danish Embassy in East Berlin in September. The well-known Berlin parish priest, Rainer Eppelmann, is a co-founder of DA.

It is no more than 3 weeks since the East German security police were ruthless in preventing the formation of the party. Some 80 people from all parts of the GDR had agreed to meet in Berlin to found the party, but 20 were prevented from attending. The rest held a meeting in an apartment in Berlin.

But last weekend everything went smoothly. With Egon Krenz's takeover of power and the officially proclaimed "changes," there were, for the moment at least, no problems with meeting, even though the group is still illegal in principle. In a telephone interview Wolfgang Schnur declared that the new party will work toward a democratic constitution and a multiparty system in the GDR.

The party wants a clear separation between party and state and demands that the communist party, the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], renounce its monopoly in the information and media field. At the same time the party remains firm that the two German states should continue to exist as hitherto.

"We are saying clearly that the formation of DA does *not* mean that we are saying goodbye to the vision of a socialist society. What has now started among thousands of democrats in this country is a political dialogue about what socialism should look like. How do we create a just society in a socialist state?" Wolfgang Schnur said.

"The crucial thing at the present time is the dialogue that has emerged locally between the SED and the opposition. Each side must win the other's trust in order to go on to constructive action. We must abandon the fine rhetorical differences and meet each other in mutual respect, even though we view the other side as political opponents. It is also a task for the opposition to convince our interlocutors that we disagree on a number of points, yes indeed, but that we do not want to eradicate the SED. We must analyze together what our differences are," Wolfgang Schnur said.

He added that the talks that have taken place hitherto have been "very open and very honest."

Among the demands the opposition wants met are the freedom to demonstrate, freedom of assembly, and a concrete formulation of human rights in the GDR.

"Each citizen must know what is legal and what is proscribed," he said.

But first and foremost the SED's monopoly of power must be broken.

"State and party must be separated. And all parties must show the citizens that they enjoy their confidence. This must happen through completely free elections. There must be an end to the situation where one party has a monopoly on power. There might perhaps be a transition period, but the ultimate goal is free elections."

He said that what has happened in the GDR since the police took action against demonstrators on 7 October in connection with the 40th anniversary of the GDR is "unprecedented."

"The most important thing is that citizens are now expressing *without fear* their worries, needs, and the disappointments they have been suffering for many years. It is of crucial importance that the process now under way take place in full openness. The fear has gone. What was impossible for decades is now happening in full view of everyone. Both sides will get used to dealing with criticism and self-criticism, with the political views of others. And in the media too... If television and newspapers now really begin to show the world as it is, an incredible amount will have been achieved, but the new movements must have access to the media, perhaps even publish a newspaper themselves."

Wolfgang Schnur warns against the belief that the GDR is moving in the same direction as Poland and Hungary.

"We must be very sober in our view of what can be done politically in our social system. Realistically you have to say that we are just beginning the process of acquiring democratic instruments. I do not want a radical approach which will ravage our country. We have experienced such major disappointments. Just think of the thousands of people who have left this wonderful country. I am therefore using all my energy to create amongst the GDR's citizens a consciousness that they belong here, that it is here they have their identity. That is the first thing we have to succeed in doing."

The reunification of the two German states is certainly no issue in opposition circles, Wolfgang Schnur said.

"Otherwise people would not be stressing so strongly that we do *not* want a break with socialism. What is more important is: How can the two German states make a contribution to peace in Europe, to common environmental action, for increased action for the Third World, and so on? They are two different states with two different social systems."

[Mikkelsen] So you agree here with Egon Krenz?

[Wolfgang Schnur] "Yes, there is no disagreement."

[Mikkelsen] Could developments be reversed?

[Wolfgang Schnur] "No! That could only happen via the most brutal violence. The citizens of the GDR cannot be turned back. That would not be in the interest of any party—and that includes the SED. That would mean the total collapse of socialist politics."

First Bezirk Branch of SDP Founded in Berlin

LD0611154989 Hamburg DPA in German 1502 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The first Bezirk [area] Association of the Social Deemocratic Party [SDP] of the GDR has been founded. On late Sunday evening [5 November] some 350 members founded the "Berlin Bezirk Association" in the East Berlin Sophienkirche, it was announced on Monday [6 November]. In its founding document, which adopted was by majority vote, the East Berlin SDP declares its agreement with the principles of "an ecologically oriented social democracy" laid down in the party statute.

The Bezirk Association was seeking "cooperation with all democratic initiatives, groups, parties and persons, irrespective of their philosophical and social commitments." The SDP wants to cooperate in a democratic renewal of the GDR. Twenty members were elected to the Bezirk Party Council in a secret ballot. Prior to this, the first working groups of the party had introduced themselves. The founding of the Bezirk Association was preceded by the constitution of local groups in the city boroughs of Pankow, Friedrichshain, Hellersdorf, and Prenzlauer Berg.

Boehme Dismissed as Halle Party Chief

LD0911134189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1300 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] At an extraordinary meeting today, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Bezirk [area] organization in Halle decided to release Hans-Joachim Boehme from his duties as first secretary of the Bezirk organization. Of the 64 members present, 4 voted against this. The vote, which Hans-Joachim Boehme requested, was preceded by a more than 4-hour discussion between the members and the candidate members of the bezirk organization and the first secretaries of the kreis [district] organizations.

During yesterday's Central Committee meeting to elect a new Politburo, 66 members voted against Boehme. The election of Werner Walde as a candidate member of the SED Politburo sparked controversy in numerous SED basic organizations in enterprises in the Cottbus Bezirk. Protest resolutions demanding Walde's removal from office were sent to the 10th Central Committee SED meeting by the party organizations in the Jaenschwalde open mine and power station, the textile combine in Cottbus, and the Reichsbahn motor transport and repair works.

Krenz Meets With FRG's Rau in Berlin

LD0911141189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1355 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia Johannes Rau, have met in the GDR State Council building in Berlin for an exchange of views.

Directly before the meeting, Krenz told a journalist: "From what I know of Mr Rau, it will be a very objective talk. We are glad that his state of North Rhine-Westphalia is thus represented." Johannes Rau will be taking part in the Days of Art and Culture from North Rhine-Westphalia, in Leipzig.

Soviet Forces in GDR Celebrate GOSR

AU0911112889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Festive Event in Wuensdorf Garrison"]

[Text] Wuensdorf (ADN)—With a festive event in the Wuensdorf garrison, the Supreme Command of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces celebrated the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on Saturday [4 November]. On this occasion, Erich Mueckenberger, president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, conveyed a greetings message from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers to the participants, among them Commander in Chief Army General Boris Snetkov.

The letter, signed by Egon Krenz and Willi Stoph, says, "With the policy of restructuring, the CPSU has initiated a process which is of decisive importance for the strengthening of socialism and securing peace in the world." The GDR fully supports the USSR's constructive peace policy, its far-reaching initiatives for disarmament, security, and detente, it is stressed in another passage. The GDR will continue to strive energetically to pave the way for a safe world free from the nuclear and conventional threat, in accordance with the joint peace strategy of the states of the socialist community. Strengthening the class alliance and comradeship-in-arms with the USSR is and remains a priority concern.

In his speech, Major General Aleksey Kosvlov, first deputy chief of the Political Administration of the Western Group, said that the restructuring in his country constitutes the continuation of the ideas of Great October. It will never lose its importance because it brought peace and freedom to the peoples. In close cooperation with the National People's Army, the members of the Western Group fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duty for the protection of peace, he stressed in conclusion.

Krenz Congratulates Catholic Bishop

LD0811204189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1734 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR Council of State, has conveyed his best wishes to Bishop Georg Sterzinsky on the latter's election as chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference.

"It corresponds to our joint concern that the Catholic Church in the GDR will, under your leadership, make its own appropriate contribution with great responsibility to the future of our country, the renewal of our society, and the tasks to be solved together," the letter says. "Respect for the convictions and tasks of the other, honest, and frank talks on matters of common concern, and changes for the benefit of our citizens will promote constructive cooperation between the state and the Catholic Church. In this, the recognition that more unites us than divides us should determine the path."

Former Intelligence Chief on Developments

AU0811085589 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 7 Nov 89

["Exclusive" interview with Markus Wolf, former head of the GDR Foreign Intelligence Service and author of the book "The Troika," by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Coudenhove-Kalergi] Mr Wolf, as a leading communist, you appeared at the great demonstration in Alexander Square. You were applauded for expressing your support for opening up and renewal, but you were booed when you acknowledged that you had served as a general in the Ministry for State Security for many years, which is the most hated authority in the GDR. Is it possible to canvass for renewal and confidence, considering your background?

[Wolf] Yes, I think it is, as long as one advocates the truth and is open to changes, even with a background like mine. Whether this is convincing, always convincing, for everybody is another question. As a matter of fact, reactions in Alexander Square varied a great deal.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] People said that at least he is not a coward.

[Wolf] Yes, a little courage was indeed required.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] This is one of the problems that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is facing now: On the one hand it canvasses for confidence, but people say: Why should we trust these people? Why should they govern us? Nobody has elected them. They more or less ruined the state during 40 years of rule. What is the basis for its claim to leadership?

[Wolf] This is certainly a problem. Please allow me to answer this question as far as I am concerned. What is important is to gain or regain this confidence through work, through deeds, through attitudes. After the publication of my book and after the discussions, I feel a certain amount of confidence in myself among the people. However, this is a personal confidence because I have not only been in favor of telling the truth, and I have not only advocated personal courage and sensible behavior toward each other, also toward those who think differently—this one of the key problems in our current situation—since this point or since 18 October. I was doing this already 3 or 4 years ago when I started to write my book. I have repeatedly been confronted with the question—also during readings—what I used to think in the past, what I thought and said during the Stalin era, which I cover in my book, why I did not change my mind earlier. It is not easy to answer these questions. Concerning the party—you mentioned the party in your question—there are many now who also support dialogue and a different way of behaving toward those who think differently, who did not or were unable to articulate themselves in the past. In this connection one must, of course, examine—and people will certainly do so—which people struggled for change when they were in their old positions and who stood up for it more or less openly, and who are the wrynecks, as Christa Wolf put it at the rally, the wrynecks who turned 180 degrees and are not to be trusted. The struggle to win the people's confidence; winning back their confidence is important.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Still there remains the basic question about the SED's claim to leadership, which is being raised at all demonstrations. One of the banners read: If the SED has a say, we can bury the GDR. Opinion polls in Poland have shown that the communists could only rely on the support of 3 percent of the population. Why should the communists govern in the GDR?

[Wolf] My statements in Alexander Square on Saturday [4 November] may not have been as impressive as those of other speakers. They were in a better position than I. I have assumed—and I still do—my share of responsibility for the things that have happened. Most of the time, this is not done by the people who have reason to. I did it, but I also stressed in my address that in the future the role that this party, my party, will play in this country will not be determined be specific articles or paragraphs, but by convincing the people, through work, through hard work, through the party's efforts, and through the confidence that it gains or regains among the people.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] What will happen if it does not succeed in gaining the people's confidence, if the call for free elections is finally fulfilled, and if the communists, the SED, do not win the people's confidence? Would you be in favor of a step similar to the one taken by the communists in Poland, and which will probably also be taken in Hungary, that they will go into opposition?

[Wolf] This question is rather speculative for me because I really believe that—contrary to Poland or Hungary—that my party, together with the people who are members of this party and who have struggled and are still struggling for the goals of this party, will succeed in regaining the people's confidence if the leadership reacts swiftly to the current developments and gives the many good and diligent people who do excellent jobs at their workplaces the opportunity of doing what they think is right.

Developments led to the fact that SED members played an important role in all spheres of life, including industry, agriculture, science, and education. They are not bad people. Of course, there are also nominal party members and opportunists and people who are also responsible for the reasons that led to the aggravation of the situation.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] In your beautiful story "The Troika" you advocate not considering those who think differently only as traitors and scoundrels. Your trio of friends includes two leftist anti-communists. They are depicted as decent and noble persons. Was this the message you wanted to convey with your book? Was this what you wanted to say?

[Wolf] Yes, well, this was not necessarily my basic concept. I have often been asked whether also the behavior of the peoples, of the politicians toward each other... [Wolf changes thought] whether it includes new thinking. If people see such a message in my book, I think it is good. This also applies to your question. This is very important. One must be capable of learning. This applies to our policy and our politicians in particular, and I think the way we treat people who think differently is very important. When writing my book, I had to overcome hostile images, and converted them into new images. There is the father of the two Americans, the U.S. journalist Louis Fisher. In my recollection he is an evil anti-communist and anti-Soviet who wrote corresponding books, and when I worked on my book and read his works, I had to admit that he was not altogether wrong on the basis of the knowledge that we have today. It is sometimes difficult for young people to understand this, and for this reason I am sometimes confronted with tough questions like: How could you do that, or why did you do that? History can only be understood as a result of history, and a life can only be understood if one tries to understand the circumstances.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] You yourself experienced what many communists experienced: the Stalin era. There have been many points in history when numerous communists decided that they did not want to have anything to do with this party anymore—the trials during the thirties, the Hitler-Stalin Pact, Hungary in 1956, Prague in 1968. Whole generations of communists left the party at such points. You still are in the party.

[Wolf] Like most of its supporters.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Did you not think at one of these crossroads that you were perhaps backing the wrong party and that you had better leave it?

[Wolf] No, I did not, even though recently many people have asked me this question. Now I would certainly no longer condemn those who left our course on one of the occasions you mentioned in the same way. Many of my friends did that. I would only like to mention Wolfgang Leonhard, who is probably also known to your viewers.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] An old classmate of yours.

[Wolf] Yes, we were close friends from early childhood until he left. Words like treason, which, of course, were in agreement with our thinking at the time, I would no longer use in this connection. Yet—maybe this is the only way one can reply briefly to a very, very complicated question—the 20th party congress was the crucial turning point for me. I realized who Stalin was and what had happened under Stalin. Until that time, one knew the one thing or the other, which one suppressed or did not know. In my view, these were absolute distortions of the ideal and the goals which I, just like my father and many people around me, supported. Basically, we were convinced that things could not go on like this, that this must be eliminated, and that this was an obstacle. Myself and the others were no longer believers; we had been believers for a certain period.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] What were you? One could also say....

[Wolf interrupting] We believed in the correctness of these ideals, of these goals, of Marxism, if you like of scientific Marxism, of socialism and communism, and we continued to believe in it. I still believe in it today. Somehow developments proved that we were right. Gorbachev has emerged, and now even in the GDR there is hope for a spring, if I may put it this way, and hope for an opportunity to ... [Wolf changes thought] these ideas that we have always had. I am not saying that we have always understood everything correctly, that we had a clear image of the correct paths, and that we always evaluated or wanted to evaluate correctly all the wrong paths and bad phenomena. Nevertheless, I think we have embarked on the right path.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] When you headed the GDR's intelligence service, you worked at a time when this hope did not exist, when the GDR was still a hideous police state—and which it still is, as a matter of fact. Looking back, do you regret this? At Saturday's rally, some people may have expected the responsible persons to apologize. You did not do that, you defended your colleagues from state security.

[Wolf] My previous sentence was: I assume responsibility for my activities during this period. I did this deliberately, despite the fact that I was responsible for the part of the work of this ministry that, basically, had nothing to do with the domestic situation. I could have taken things easier. I am always willing to provide nearly any information on these activities. I cannot provide all details because of the specific nature of this work. However, I think that I have nothing decisive to regret apart from the fact that we made mistakes and that we put people on the other side behind bars. Still, I have acknowledged and continue to acknowledge this responsibility because I was a leading official in this ministry, and I also must assume responsibility—with regret or with whatever you want—for the mistakes that were made concerning the policy of this country. I knew about many things.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] One Western newspaper has described you as the most successful intelligence chief in the world, and others have dubbed you the James Bond of the East....

[Wolf interrupting] This is a nice comparison.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] You made a great coup when you placed the spy Guillaume in the office of Willy Brandt. Willy Brandt was probably the type of man who, because of his biography, was not really unlikable, or who may even have been more likable for you personally than some of the security officials with whom you worked. How do you feel in retrospect?

[Wolf] This is one of the questions that I still find difficult to answer.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Feelings are not subject to the censorship of the intelligence service.

[Wolf] Well, you talk about feelings. In reality, things are not quite as they are when looked at and presented in retrospect: Bad Wolf did something terrible to nice Mr Brandt. The fact was that at the time the Social Democratic Party of Germany was steering toward participating in the government. In such a situation one examines, of course, certain possibilities and all persons that have already proved their worth in some way or other. Guenther Guillaume had very close relations with then-trade union Chairman Leber. Leber became transportation minister in Bonn and, as a former trade unionist, wanted to install a person he could trust in the Chancellor's Office where contacts with the trade unions are maintained. Thus, Guenther Guillaume was transferred into the Chancellor's Office without any effort on our part, and then—much to our surprise—into the immediate surroundings of the chancellor. I would like to know the chief of an intelligence service who would stop such a development. It was not so much a question of planting a spy in the office of Willy Brandt, the Social Democrat. It is the task of this service to eliminate all surprises, where questions of war or peace are involved. There is no position that is more suitable for detecting such signs —except for NATO, where we also achieved considerable successes. What may have led to the actual fall of the chancellor, the threat to publish details about intimate relations, played no role whatever on our part, and we never mentioned such things.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] If you were to meet Willy Brandt somewhere, what would you tell him? Bad luck old friend, or what?

[Wolf] No, I would really tell him that I am sorry about it. After all, at that time this was not an advantage from a political point of view. It may even have been possible to remove Guenther Guillaume from his position, but it would have become public all the same and the same scandal would have erupted, with the only difference being that Guillaume would not have been arrested.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Mr Wolf, you are a pensioner, but you do not look like a pensioner. The Central Committee will convene in the next few days, and the SED is probably searching closely for people who have a certain standing among the population. Are you aiming at a certain position?

[Wolf] No.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Why not?

[Wolf] I have expressed my sincere view in so many interviews. After a certain age, one should not have any ambition concerning official positions. I am 66 years old now, and this is a limit for me. I would prove myself a liar if I changed my mind. Also, I believe that there are younger people who should assume these positions and who are also capable of filling the positions. I would, of course, be willing to give advice to such a younger person for some time, and I would also support him in public if necessary. Another question that I am frequently asked is why I have withdrawn from politics at a comparatively early age. At no point in the past have I had the feeling of being so much involved in politics as I have at this very moment—last Saturday, for example. I have never addressed more than 2,000 people. On Saturday there were probably half a million people.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Do you want to continue this?

[Wolf] Not really. However, I do not have any illusions. I would like to go back to writing books in the near future. I would need 150 years to write everything that is in my head now. Up to now this has not been possible. However, one must participate actively in this process.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Thank you very much.

Government Spokesman on Personnel Reshuffle

AU0911090889 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 9 Nov 89 p 1

[Christian Hoffmann report: "GDR Government Spokesman on the Phone: 'New People for a New Course'"]

[Text] In an exclusive talk with WIENER ZEITUNG yesterday, Wolfgang Meyer, the first government spokesman in the GDR's history, stressed that the personnel changes in the GDR are not just cosmetic. "If one embarks upon new things, one needs new people," Meyer said tersely.

The government spokesman, whose first task on Tuesday [7 November] was to announce the resignation of his government, is a man with a clear profile. He unequivocally supports reforms: "The policy of change has to be implemented in all spheres of social life, from the economy to education."

The GDR is obviously facing a time of harsh conflicts. "The change has to become irreversible," Meyer says, "this means that everyone should participate in the work to secure the changes. This includes peaceful talks and peaceful demonstrations."

What is particularly important is the peacefulness of the new development. "We know that we live in a very sensitive spot of world politics," Meyer told WIENER ZEITUNG.

Previously, Wolfgang Meyer, 55, was a journalist with ADN.

Schabowski, Reiche Comment on Elections, Modrow

LD0911100189 Hamburg DPA in German 0935 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—According to SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo member Guenter Schabowski, there is as yet no decision on and no fixed date for the elections announced by GDR state and party leader Egon Krenz. Speaking on West German Radio this morning, however, he affirmed that when this decision was made, there would be elections without any restrictions, and "inclusive of all the risks which are involved for all political powers."

Schabowski conceded that the submission of draft travel legislation had perhaps been somewhat hasty. However, "tangible results" should be achieved by the end of the year. There had also been emphatic reference to the fact that the draft was only a basis for discussion.

Steffen Reiche, founding member of the GDR SDP [Social Democratic Party] also speaking on West German Radio, supported the nomination of Dresden SED Area Secretary Hans Modrow as the new GDR premier. "We need a chance, and if that chance is now Hans Modrow, then it should be exploited." Reiche described Modrow as a man of integrity. Like the writer, Christa Wolf, he spoke in favor of GDR citizens remaining in the GDR in view of the present developments. "We need all people who will support reforms and help improve things here."

Conscripts Deployed in Health, Transportation

LD0411104389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0922 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Beginning 1 December 1989, 2,000 military conscripts performing their military service will at times be deployed in the GDR Health Service. This was announced to ADN today by Lieutenant Colonel Uwe Hempel, spokesman for the Ministry for National Defense. He referred to numerous requests for the introduction of civilian service which had been directed to the Defense Ministry over the past few days by GDR citizens, social and state organisations.

This deployment in the Health Service corresponds to a resolution by the GDR Government taken on the basis of a request by the minister of health to the minister for national defense in view of the tense situation which has arisen in the sphere of medical provision for and treatment of the population.

Beginning 1 November, members of the Army have been giving comprehensive help in transportation important for the national economy, as well as passenger transport. Members of training bases, as well as sappers are also working in the national economy.

This deployment is not identical with the expected rules on civilian service, the announcement says. A relevant draft law is now being worked out. It is to be presented to the GDR People's Chamber for resolution, but will take a certain period of time. The public will be informed on the envisaged regulations at the appropriate time.

Security Staff Bolsters Transport, Health Service

LD0811155689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1524 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In view of the urgent needs of the GDR economy, the staff of the Ministry of State Security has decided on immediate measures.

These measures concern, ADN was informed, the use of 385 members of the ministry, including 232 lorry drivers with 169 utility vehicles, to support trade transport units, and in the municipal administration of Berlin. Some 17 bus drivers will be used in passenger transport. In the ministry, 115 will be working in vehicle repairs. The medical service will supply 21 doctors and personnel from specialist medical schools to work in the health service.

Jewish Body Welcomes Restructuring 'Changes'

LD0611115389 East Berlin Television Service in German 1843 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium and advisory boards of the Federation of Jewish Communities in the GDR welcome the initiated changes in the republic. As is pointed out in a declaration, the success or failure of the changes under way affect Jews to the same extent as all other GDR citizens. The restructuring and renewal of public life in the GDR would have to be implemented without any moderation in the country's essentially anti-fascist principles.

The Presidium declaration also contains a proposal to reconsider state relations with Israel.

Jews Propose Diplomatic Relations With Israel

AU0711151389 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 89 p 2

[Report by "HZ": "Jews in GDR in Favor of Contacts With Israel"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Jewish communities in the GDR have welcomed the reforms that have been initiated; however, they have expressed additional demands in this respect. In a statement published by the Directorate of the Association of Jewish Communities in Dresden, the early establishment of diplomatic relations and the normalization of relations between the GDR and Israel is called for. In addition, the communities consider it "necessary to rewrite the history books as soon as possible." This should be done in respect of both German history, including the persecution of Jews during the National Socialist period, and the discrimination against Jews during the first years of the GDR. "National Socialism and anti-Semitism are a heritage of both German states." Reappraisal of German history in the GDR so far has been insufficient, the statement says. In addition, "many citizens of our country, including young citizens, have insufficient knowledge of contemporary history and do not feel guilty in this respect." Moreover, social policy problems such as anti-Semitic incidents must no longer be treated like state secrets, the statement says. "In this respect, no 'false shame' must allow us to play things down, as was the case in the past."

NDPD Chairman Discusses Party Policy

LD0811122189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1836 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Interview with Guenter Hartmann, newly elected National Democratic Party of Germany chairman, on the "Aktuelle Kamera" news bulletin, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Hartmann] Our view is that in this way of asking for the meaning of being a National Democrat today, we can make a good, self-responsible and independent contribution to the continuity of socialism in our country, albeit in a new shape.

[Correspondent] What new quality should the new alliance boast in your view?

[Hartmann] Its new quality lies with the equality of all alliance members, it lies with nobody feeling or actually being patronized. It is only in this way that, within the alliance and the GDR in general, we will be able to see a new beginning. In my view, we are indeed at the very beginning in this respect. The fact is that we have not reached the sort of agreement with all those demonstrating that would enable us to advance jointly, something that is also true of me, personally, as a representative of our party. In order to achieve that it takes a much closer and more immediate rapprochement. We have taken the decision, today, to have Professor Dr Manfred Muehlmann run as our party's candidate for the office of president of the People's Chamber.

Leipzig TV To Air Discussion With Citizens

LD0811123489 Hamburg DPA in German 1204 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—On 19 November, GDR citizens will, for the first time, in a live program on WDR TV in Leipzig, be able to discuss the "Radical Change in the GDR." The WDR announced in Cologne today that the program is part of the "North Rhine-Westphalia Cultural Presentation in Leipzig" from 9-22 November. It will, however, be broadcast only on the regional TV channel (West 3). Invited to participate in the discussion are, among others, politicians, representatives of the opposition groups and churches, artists, and scientists.

Eberlein Admits 'Repression' in Siberia

AU0711181189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 89 p 4

[ND/ADN report: "Demonstrations and Forums in Cities and Municipalities"]

[Excerpts] Magdeburg (ND/ADN)—The Magdeburg Bezirk Graphic Artists Executive Council called on its members and all citizens to participate in a demonstration for openness, honesty, the stability of the law, and comprehensive professionalism at all levels and against cyclical reformism to be held on Saturday [4 November]. [passage omitted]

Werner Eberlein, first secretary of the bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Mayor Werner Herzog were hardly able to answer the questions addressed to them because they were repeatedly interrupted by loud hecklers' shouts. When asked about his personal life, Werner Eberlein confirmed that his father and other relatives had been murdered during the repression in the Soviet Union. He himself had worked hard in Siberia for 8 years to contribute to the victory over German fascism. Then the mayor expressed his readiness for dialogue in large halls and on market squares. [passage omitted]

Marxism-Leninism Institute Rejects Accusations

AU0711175789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Nov 89 p 8

[ADN report: "Statement of the Marxism-Leninism Institute: Accusations Are Pure Invention"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has conveyed the following statement to ADN:

Last Saturday [28 October], at the public event in the Church of the Savior in Berlin-Lichtenberg, Ulrich Plenzdorf read passages from a "memory protocol" which said that on the late evening of 8 October, after the service in Gethsemane Church, persons arrested by the People's Police had been taken in trucks to the building of the Marxism-Leninism Institute (IML) attached to the SED Central Committee in Wilhelm-Pieck Street at the corner of Prenzlauer Allee. There they had been forced "to run the gauntlet" and had been beaten, it was stated. These accusations are sharply rejected by the administration of the institute. They are regarded as the attempt to defame the institute and to harm its public image. The truth is—and Ulrich Plenzdorf was able to make sure of this without any difficulty—that in the night from 8-9 October no members of the People's Police other than the members of the enterprise security organs on duty were on the IML premises, and that nobody was taken there. Unfortunately, the assertions which were made by Ulrich Plenzdorf in the Church of the Savior and also repeated in other places were also broadcast by Radio GDR 2, although they are pure invention and do not bear examination. In this context, the IML reports that it reserves the right to take legal steps to preserve its reputation.

Kleiber Explains Goals of Economic Reforms

AU0711171989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 89 p 1

[ND report: "Is There a Future for the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow? Yes, If It Is Freed From Superfluous Ballast"]

[Excerpts] Leipzig—The 32d Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the 11th Students' and Scientists' Exhibition opened on Sunday [5 November]. In over 70 rounds of talks and at the exhibitors' stands young people argued with representatives of the party, government, and the mass organizations about answers to topical questions, on the consequences of internal developments in the GDR for the Free German Youth [FDJ], on a renewal of the fair of the masters of tomorrow movement, as well as on the goal and contents of the urgently needed economic reforms. [passage omitted]

At the consultation center "Party Congress Projects of the FDJ," the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], Guenther Kleiber, who had earlier presented awards on behalf of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, was asked about the contents and goals of the economic reforms. The first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers replied: The economic reforms are aimed at creating conditions for the production of high-quality goods that are needed for domestic supply or that can be sold in the world markets with a high level of profitability. [passage omitted]

Market-Oriented Planned Economy Proposed

AU0711170589 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Nov 89 p 19

[Klaus Kemper report: "The New Magic Formula Is 'Market-Oriented Planned Economy'"]

[Text] Berlin, 6 November—It is not only since October this year that leading economic scientists in the other part of Germany have been aware that the GDR's economic system must be urgently reformed. "Many of our present considerations are already a few years old." Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], considers this statement as important as his conviction that the GDR must find its "own solutions" for such an economic reform. The most important outlines of a relevant concept in this respect will be submitted early next year at the latest. Reinhold, who is one of the leading thinkers of the SED, describes these outlines in an interview with this newspaper. He proceeds on the assumption that the influence of the market on economic developments can be considerably expanded, without the system of planned economy having to be called into question as a result. "We could describe our position as market-oriented planned economy," the economic scientist said, creating a new magic formula.

Reinhold continues to be convinced that the GDR's economic policy cannot adopt a quarter or an eighth of capitalism and organize the rest in a socialist way. Just as those who wield power in East Berlin are still only ready to accept political reforms if the SED's claim to leadership is not jeopardized, Reinhold believes that socialism, which is essentially based on social (state) ownership of the means of production and on state control, must also remain the basis of a reformed economy. "Today we are not discussing whether there are alternatives to socialism and what they are; we are discussing the question of what this socialism must be, in what way it must be shaped, and what basic changes and renewals it must undergo," says Reinhold. He considers it essential to find specific methods of increasing efficiency. He adds: "Capitalism has such methods; just think of the position of the individual staff members in a company, the danger of unemployment, and the pressure of specific competition.

I am firmly convinced that these methods would not have the same effect under our conditions. That is what I meant when I said that we cannot adopt a quarter or an eighth of capitalism."

For the economic scientist, this does not rule out the fact that in a socialist system too, increasing importance must be given to the market as a control instrument. He says that "if we plan to implement the principle of producing our own means in the entire national economy, this can only work and achieve the desirable success under market conditions." In the course of the planned reform, state planning, which Reinhold does not by any means want to give up, should be confined to two main factors—creating the best possible framework conditions for enterprises and influencing structural changes with the goal of avoiding major social conflicts. According to Reinhold, direct state interference in company developments must in any case be prevented in the future. However, the control of production and sales, prices and wages should be left—as far as possible—to the interplay of supply and demand. Reinhold says that that does not mean that there will be no subsidized prices in the future. "For example, I do not believe that the price of bread could eventually be settled by supply and demand," he says. However, he does believe that whoever wants to have a more comfortable and larger apartment will also pay higher rent for it.

The economic scientist states that the efficiency principle must also be stressed more strongly on the labor market as well. "To be sure, that is a difficult problem for us; however, we have to adjust our labor legislation to the new requirements," he says, and adds: "We can certainly suggest that all those who do not work must be brutally fired; however, we cannot assume that we will continue to do so indefinitely at the expense of our national economy." Reinhold hopes that, just as a more realistic orientation toward the market situation could counteract the waste of material and energy in broad areas of the economy in connection with price-setting, so performance-oriented labor market laws and a more differentiated wage policy could help to considerably increase the effectiveness of enterprises. In this connection, he could very well imagine that enterprises adopt a profit-oriented wage policy, in other words, fixed wages would be paid corresponding to the individual's position and performance, which would be complemented by his sharing in the enterprise profits.

Reinhold assumes that an increased market orientation of the entire economy will possibly also lead to a change in the present enterprise structures. He says that one will certainly have to consider whether it is sensible to maintain all combines in their present form, and whether it is not advisable to more intensely promote the founding of small and medium-sized enterprises which would then be managed in cooperative or private ownership. Reinhold states that "we cannot and do not want to counteract the development which is now going on throughout the world and leads to larger and larger enterprises; however, we must optimize the combination of large, medium, and small enterprises." In his view, that also includes increasing international cooperation. "In this way, we are bound to arrive at joint ventures with companies in the West, and that will happen soon," he says. He believes that the legal conditions for this will be created soon. However, more time will be necessary to change the GDR mark into a convertible currency step by step. He believes that this, too, will be inevitable in the foreseeable future.

School Director Criticizes Education Ministry

LD0711095489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0842 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"I am seeing now how the civil servants at the Ministry of Education who in the past were responsible for decisions at my school are now disclaiming responsibility, one after the other. I will not accept this," writes the director of the Ossietzky School in Berlin, Rainer Former, in a letter to the acting education minister published on Tuesday by the BERLINER ZEITUNG.

In September 1988, pupils at the school had organized a petition among their fellow-schoolchildren against National People's Army military parades and on the Solidarity movement in Poland. Four of them had then been expelled, and the ministry had sent a special inspector to aggravate the situation at the school, who had practically stripped the director and the staff of power. A few days ago the school punishments had been lifted.

The director expressed the expectation "that in future there will be no interference in the affairs of a school. The education and training of mature, open young people demands that there is a guarantee that full sovereignty and power of decision in a school be placed hands of the staff and its state management."

Environment Ministry Explains Regulations

AU0611193389 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4-5 Nov 89 p 5

[ADN report: "On the Publication of Ecological Data"]

[Text] Yesterday the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Conservancy issued a statement explaining the regulation on environmental data, which was passed by the Council of Ministers on 2 November, and the smog rule passed on the same day. The statement says:

Both documents will come into force on the day on which they are published in the GDR Legal Gazette. The regulation on environmental data says that data on the state of the natural environment are fundamentally public data. It corresponds to a democratic right of the citizens to be informed about the condition of the environment, which essentially influences their quality of living. Today such information is a standard requirement in a developed industrial country.

Good Opportunities for Participation of Citizens

It is shown that the knowledge, underpinned by data, about the state of the natural environment often motivates people to fulfill their personal responsibility for improving working and living conditions. At the same time, this provides more favorable opportunities for the active participation of citizens and social organization in shaping and protecting a healthy environment and in realizing varied measures for better environmental conditions and lower pollution.

The gathering, processing, and publication of environmental data is carried out by the responsible state control organs. The State Environmental Inspectorate is responsible for the large-scale overview on the state of the atmosphere and on the harmless elimination of industrial waste products. The State Water Monitoring Office collects data on the state of the waters and on atmospheric precipitation. The State Hygiene Inspectorate gives information on the state of the air in the industrial conurbations, cities, and villages; of drinking water; foodstuffs; and the soil; on the effect of noise and reverberations; as well as on the harmless disposal of local wastes.

More Information in the Statistical Yearbook

The gathering, processing, and publication of data on radioactive contamination of the environment is carried out by the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection. It is planned to publish an environmental report annually, which will be presented by the minister for environmental protection and water conservancy. Summarized overviews of environmental data will be published comprehensively in the GDR's Statistical Yearbook.

The heads of the above-mentioned state organs ensure the citizens' information on topical environmental data. This particularly applies to smog, contamination of waters, and accidents involving chemicals.

The regulation explicitly states that citizens and social organizations can agree with the responsible state control organs on carrying out the gathering, processing, and publication of environmental data for payment of fees and expenditures. This mainly applies to examinations of drinking and industrial water, of soil samples, fruit, and vegetables.

Data are gathered by the measuring network of the GDR Meteorology Service, through the monitoring work of the State Environmental Inspectorate, the State Water Monitoring Office, and the State Hygiene Inspectorate. This measuring network will be enlarged and made denser in line with requirements.

Timely Warning of Smog Decided

Second, a smog rule was adopted. This rule is based on the premise that, mostly during inversion weather in winter with a scant exchange of masses of air in conurbations, in valleys, and basins, a temporary, high accumulation of pollutants occurs in the layers of air close to the soil. In the future, the citizens will be informed about the occurrence of such a situation, which is called smog, and corresponding measures to avoid dangers to health will be bindingly initiated.

The smog rule comprises three stages: an information stage as well as alert stages I and II. They will be applied in 20 areas of the GDR, which are endangered by smog and which normally include several cities and kreises. In these areas the pollutants emitted by large cities and industry cause, under certain meteorological and orographic (referring to the shape of the territory) conditions, a temporarily higher air pollution. This affects, for instance, the city districts of Berlin, the Halle/Bitterfeld area, the city of Leipzig and its surroundings, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and the Thuringian Basin. The smog stages are announced and withdrawn by the minister of environmental protection and water conservancy in coordination with the health minister and the chairmen of the bezirk councils, whose territories are affected by smog.

In general, the announcement of one of the other stages is determined by whether the concentration of sulfur dioxide in an area endangered by smog exceeds set values at two measuring posts simultaneously for 3 hours and whether the meteorological forecast provides reason to expect the pollution to continue for at least 24 hours.

Media Provide Information on Pollution

The information stage occurs when the sulfur dioxide concentration reaches the value of 600 micrograms per cubic meter of air in one area. This stage envisages that the local press and local radio casts inform the citizens of the affected area about the current and the expected pollution.

This information is linked with behavior recommendations for the population. At the order of the health minister, special recommendations are given in particular for children's institutions, schools, old people's homes, spas, institutions for therapeutic baths, as well as medical institutions.

Alert stage I is announced when, under the same conditions as mentioned above, the concentration of sulfur dioxide reaches the value of 1,200 micrograms per cubic meter of air. For enterprises, which act according to special plans in smog situations, the responsible ministers and chairmen of bezirk councils order the implementation of these plans. In all enterprises it is necessary to temporarily reduce the emission of air pollutants.

The citizens in the affected area are called upon to use heating sparingly and to avoid any further air pollution. They are recommended to forego the use of private motor vehicles.

Enterprises Can Be Given Special Orders

Alert stage II is in force when the concentration of sulfur dioxide reaches 1,800 micrograms per cubic meter at one measuring post for 3 hours and, at the same time, 1,200 micrograms per cubic meter of air at a second measuring post in the same area endangered by smog. At this stage, the regulations are tightened. Enterprises, which do not have any special plans for smog situations, are given orders to temporarily reduce the emission of air pollutions. The chairman of the Bezirk Council can restrict partially or completely the use of motor vehicles and prohibit open-air events. The bezirk physicians are obligated to set down measures for the protection of and more intensive medical care for endangered groups of the population.

In the case of smog, it is planned to organize an exchange of data between the GDR and the FRG. The same is to happen after negotiations with the Berlin (West) Senat. The use of high-capacity measuring equipment, in line with an environmental protection pilot project, which was agreed on in July 1989, will contribute to the establishment and expansion of an early warning system and to the comparison of data between the two German states.

Escape Attempt Fails at Intra-German Frontier

LD0611152589 Hamburg DPA in German 1227 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Kassel (DPA)—In spite of the frontier to the CSSR which has in the meantime been opened for GDR citizens, a GDR citizen tried this morning to surmount an intra-German frontier fence between Unterbreizbach/GDR and Philippsthal (Hersfeld/Rotenburg area). Apparently the escape attempt by the unknown man had failed, the Frontier Protection Command Center (GSK) stated in Kassel.

Frontier guards from the Federal Frontier Protection Service (BGS) had, according to the GSK, observed at around 0300 that a searchlight was turned on on the other side of the frontier. After that about 30 members of the GDR frontier troops had arrived for a search operation. About one hour later a "civilian person" had been seen "being held by the arm" behind the metal grid fence in the area of the Philippsthal/Unterbreizbach road barrier, according to the GSK report.

Stoph Receives Laos Parliamentarians

AU0611171189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Talk With Guests From Laos; Meeting in the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [2 November] during a friendly meeting with the delegation of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] which is visiting Berlin, Willi Stoph and Vice President Thongsing Thammavong affirmed the close friendship and ties between the two states and peoples. They stressed the firm determination to further develop bilateral cooperation for the benefit of both sides and to continue the GDR's solidarity with Laos. It was concurrently stated that the prospects of economic cooperation are promising.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers briefed his guests on the efforts for the renewal of the socialist society in the GDR.

Thongsing Thammavong expressed the LPDR's solidarity with the GDR and the policy initiated in the past few weeks. While universally considering the realities, Laos is also struggling for further progress by innovation and thus for the gradual improvement of the people's living conditions.

On the same day GDR Foreign Minister Fischer met with Thongsing Thammavong. The guests from Laos also acquainted themselves with the work of the People's Chamber deputies.

Leaders Congratulate USSR Counterparts

AU0811145989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Nov 89 p 6

["Telegrams of Hungarian Leaders on the Occasion of the National Day of the Soviet Union"]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev!

On the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the GOSR and of the establishment of the Soviet state, the National Day of the Soviet people, I send my best wishes to you and to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We follow with sincere sympathy and appreciation your historic efforts to carry out restructuring and to establish a constitutional state, as well as the Soviet foreign policy aimed at building a world without fear and a European Home; we wish you lots of success in implementing these goals.

I am convinced that the friendly cooperation between the Hungarian Republic and the Soviet Union, cooperation based on the principles of equal rights, independence, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, will continue to develop by renewing itself.

Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Hungarian Republic.

To Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union

Esteemed Comrade Ryzhkov!

On the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the GOSR, on behalf of the Government of the Hungarian Republic and on my own behalf, I express my sincere best wishes to you, the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

With its policy of radical restructuring and democratization and with its consistent efforts to establish cooperation and security based on the new foreign policy concepts, the Soviet Union has gained the appreciation and support of the widest international public opinion, and this is an achievement of priceless importance.

I am convinced that the fundamentally similar changes under way in our countries under specific national conditions will create new and favorable conditions for modernizing and further developing our mutually advantageous and friendly bilateral relations.

On the occasion of the National Day of the Soviet Union, we sincerely wish you new successes on the road leading to social and economic restructuring and the prosperity of the Soviet people.

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Republic.

Tabajdi on Ethnic-Hungarian Minister in Romania

AU0811143289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Minister Csaba Tabajdi, head of the Secretariat of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Hungarian Government, by correspondent Ferenc L. Gazso: "Mass Resettlement Is a Common Suicide."—in Budapest, on 6 November.]

[Text] In the wake of the disturbing news coming from Temesvar about the harassment of Minister Laszlo Tokes, we asked Csaba Tabajdi for an interview.

[Gazso] Almost every party and movement in Hungary have sent their protest to the Romanian Embassy in connection with Romania's policy directed against the national minorities there and threatening the existence of the Hungarian national minority in Transylvania. The government feels solidarity with these parties but it does not express its protest in an official note. Why?

[Tabajdi] The National Minority Collegium of the Council of Ministers was among the first bodies to issue a statement in connection with Presbyterian Minister Laszlo Tokes of Temesvar and his congregation of believers. The statement also says that the church and labor rights procedure conducted against Laszlo Tokes grossly violates Articles No. 13 and 17 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Unfortunately, the possibilities of our government are considerably limited. The attention of the domestic and foreign public opinion towards Laszlo Tokes' fate represents a restraining force, just like in the case of the harassment of Mrs Doina Cornea. These two cases are strongly related because the measures of the Romanian authorities violate the fundamental human rights of both these people. This connection also proves to the world that we are not talking here about a national minority confrontation in the narrow sense of the word. Unfortunately, the chances of direct negotiations are meager because neither the Hungarian Government nor any other government—both Eastern and Western—is able to hold genuine negotiations with the Romanian Government at present.

[Gazso] Is there nothing we could do? Should we wait until the fate of Laszlo Tokes and of other people like him in Transylvania is accomplished?

[Tabajdi] Not at all. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is considering issuing a note of protest because of the recent atrocities against Laszlo Tokes. I also propose that our diplomacy should make its voice heard in the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and in all the existing forums of the Helsinki process. The world should learn about this affair as an illustration of the situation. In my opinion, we can also expect an even firmer protest from the Presbyterian Church than hitherto. We must make every state understand that everything that is happening with the national minorities in

Transylvania is not a local "accident" but a violation of human rights of an extent that, in the long run, is threatening the stability of Europe.

[Gazso] I think it is high time to stop speaking in generalities about all our responsibility for the Hungarian people living beyond our borders.

[Tabajdi] We need less slogans and exhibitionism. The fate of Transylvania should not be a pretext or tactics in domestic policy struggles. Nor can this affair be subordinated to party bickering and personal careers. In my opinion, everyone must think over what he can and must do as a Hungarian citizen so that the Hungarians of Transylvania could continue to live on the land of their and our ancestors. Mass resettlement is a common suicide. The most important thing is that Laszlo Tokes and the other Hungarian patriots in Transylvania should feel that they are not alone. We can also help them with something else which, although indirect, is even more important, namely, by making sure that we do not collapse in the economic, political, and moral sense, and thus people can look up to the mother country and to us in Transylvania and elsewhere.

Ministry Protests 'Illegalities'

LD0811154189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has protested to the Romanian ambassador to Budapest in the case of Laszlo Tokes, Reformed Church vicar of Timisoara. In its verbal note, the Ministry expressed its anxiety regarding the illegalities committed against the vicar and has requested official information about the situation of Laszlo Tokes and his family. The Foreign Ministry has, at the same time, requested that the Romanian Government to guarantee—in accordance with its international duties—the safety of Laszlo Tokes.

Romanian Authorities Use 'Spray' at Border

LD0611205889 Budapest MTI in English 1907 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 3 (MTI)—The national headquarters of the Hungarian Frontier Guards informed MTI that a Romanian passport inspector used spray against Mihaly Misi, a resident of Szarvas who left Hungary at the Nagylak border-crossing point at 15.30 p.m. on November 3. Mr Misi, who was sent back to Hungary at 0.30 a.m. on November 4, said that the customs inspectors had disassembled his car but refused to set it again together.

On November 3, at the same border station, the Romanian authorities used spray against further passengers who asked why they were not allowed to continue their trip to Romania.

HSP's Nyers Visits Stockholm, Holds Talks

Arrives in Stockholm

LD0611214589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers has arrived in Stockholm. The chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], at the head of a delegation, is beginning talks in the Scandinavian country at the invitation of the Swedish Social Democrats. According to plans, the Hungarian politician will be received by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, chairman of the Social Democratic Labor Party. Rezso Nyers will also hold talks with several leading Swedish politicians, and he would like to win over the support of the Swedish Social Democrats for the admission of the HSP into the Socialist International.

Gives Interview

PM0811145589 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 6 Nov 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Hungarian Socialist Party leader Rezso Nyers by Richard Swartz in Budapest: "My Power Role Is Something of a Punishment"; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—"Actually I do not like power. Power is something that fate has given me. I view the role that I now have to play more or less as a punishment.

"I myself will not be more than a political episode. And when I came to power the days of the one-party state were already numbered; my party no longer had any real power."

Against the background of the situation in today's Hungary, Rezso Nyers' philosophical reflections sound not so much like a coquettish confession but more like a realistic evaluation of the possibilities open to him. In the less philosophical shorter-term he is nevertheless hopeful: Despite the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Party today has less than 20,000 members, Nyers is assuming that by the end of the year his party will be able to count on 150,000-200,000 members and that the united left in Hungary could win 30-35 percent of votes in the free parliamentary elections that will be held in early 1990.

In an interview with SVENSKA DAGBLADET Nyers said that while it is true that he is not satisfied with the support for the new party, the majority of "potential members" have not yet made up their minds. They are still waiting and watching and his party still has time. He expects new members chiefly from the trade unions and agricultural collectives. If it turns out that his party does not grow very much bigger than it is today he would be very disappointed.

All leftist parties in Hungary, Nyers said, have the tide against them and this will continue until the nation discovers that the opposition cannot achieve any "economic miracles" overnight either.

But was it not a precipitate decision to dissolve the communist party and replace it with the Hungarian Socialist Party?

"No, I don't think so. We were forced to take this step, but it was perhaps an unnecessarily radical step as far as some means and ends are concerned. I think that we went too far when it came to distancing ourselves from the old communist party. That is why large masses are refusing to follow us. It is our own radical rhetoric which is chiefly responsible for this."

Nyers describes his own role as a sort of link, a bridge between radicals and more traditional reformists, and there was a hint here of a fair degree of distance from the Socialist Party's own presidential candidate, Imre Pozsgay, and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Nyers said that from the beginning of the seventies up to May 1988 (when Janos Kadar was toppled) he played the role of the party's critic both "internally and sometimes to the outside world." He viewed the party's policy under Kadar as mistaken, even though the intentions were the best. Strategically, policy was mistaken because it stopped short along the road toward concrete reforms; tactically, it was mistaken because Budapest did not make use of the room for political maneuver which actually existed but which was instead seen as very limited, and the party in Hungary bowed to Moscow. The result was that political and economic problems piled up in Hungary. But ever since the beginning of 1989 Nyers considers that he has played a role of moderation and mediation. He has acted against extremist views, made himself the mouthpiece of the majority, backed practical action instead of rhetoric.

"It was also that role that I tried to play during our party congress, but, as it turned out, with limited success."

So far the biggest opposition party in Hungary is Democratic Forum, a fairly loosely knit organization which is sometimes accused of being excessively nationalistic. Would that be an obstacle to a possible future government coalition between Democratic Forum and the Socialist Party?

"I do not consider at all that Democratic Forum is nationalistic. National feelings play a more important role for them than for us, but they have prominent intellectuals in their leadership who have succeeded in giving the national ideas a worthy form. I therefore see Democratic Forum as a possible coalition partner for us. At present Democratic Forum is attracting like a magnet all those who think along national lines and are seeking a political home. There are people who think along similar lines amongst us too. Why should we not also use the nationalist wind to fill our sails? But here I see limits that we cannot go beyond; good taste requires it."

Nevertheless Nyers is worried by the fact that the opposition has been radicalized. Recently the cry has been that it is impossible to work with communists; according to Nyers, the opposition does not distinguish between Stalinists and reformist communists; the new Socialist Party is said to simply be a "mask" behind which the old communists are trying to hide. A handful of extremist voices are saying that the communists should be strung up from the streetlamps.

"The right understands much better than we how to exploit the nationalist issue. Today we are a Republic, but what is it that busies the political right? What the state coat of arms should look like or our old kings. Everywhere in the country maps showing the old greater Hungarian borders are being printed. Such maps hang in the cafes, anyone can buy them in the streets. When I see all this I cannot but shake my head."

Nyers was unwilling to rule out cooperation with what is left of the old communist party. In a remarkably mild tone he spoke of former chief ideologist Janos Berecz. He said Berecz accepted the course of the new Socialist Party "in full," but is the victim of his own political past. To the very end Berecz attacked the 1956 revolution as a "counterrevolution." Former party boss Karoly Grosz was described by Nyers as a politically dead man, even though in politics you should never say "Never." Laughing, Nyers added that his own fate shows this. Nyers only rules out future cooperation with the orthodox minority within the old party.

"They do not accept that we now want to turn to the West more than in the past, nor do they accept political pluralism and a market economy. We cannot work together with them."

Nyers expects "certain advantages" for Hungary from his visit to Sweden. The whole of Europe must become a single space with free trade and the East European states must endeavor to establish good contacts with the EEC. But Nyers does not think that the small East European states can be absorbed into the West European community. For them he seems instead to envisage some sort of free trade zone between the EEC and the Soviet Union.

"I have never been one of those who believe that the Soviet Union is a threat to Western Europe. It will not be possible to push the boundaries of Soviet influence westwards, nor can the West's or the EEC's influence be pushed right up to the borders of the Soviet Union."

MTI Reports Activities

LD0711201789 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Stockholm, November 7 (MTI)—Time is ripe for erasing Hungary from the category of countries with central planning and putting it on the list of market-based economies since irreversible processes are taking place in the country, Rezso Nyers, president of the

Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), said in the Federation of Swedish Industries on Tuesday.

In his paper, Mr Nyers pointed out that Hungary maintained good relations with the international financial organizations. Nevertheless, he blamed the IMF for 'dripping' support while the country would require a three-year bridging loan. Hungary strives for closer relations with the EEC and particularly with the EFTA, he said. Mr Nyers termed Hungarian-Swedish economic relations as very encouraging.

After delivering the paper, Mr Nyers held talks with the presidents of Ericsson Telecom and the Wallenberg concern.

The Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP) gave a gala lunch in honour of the HSP president in Riksdag, the Swedish Parliament. Mr Nyers was hosted by Anna-Greta Leijon, member of the SAP Executive Committee, MP and president of the Budgetary Committee of Parliament. After the lunch, Mr Nyers exchanged views with Enn Kokk, member of the SAP Presidium and president of the Social Democrats' Programme Committee.

The HSP president delivered a paper at the Stockholm Foreign Policy Institute under the title 'Hungary in the Period of Changes'.

Mr Nyers emphasized that in its order of values the HSP gave priority to its social democratic heritage and, as a party like that, it applied for admission to the Socialist International. At the same time, the HSP seeks to foster relations with the reform communist parties.

Tuesday evening, Mr Nyers attended an informal dinner in the company of the leaders of parliamentary parties, MPs and ministers.

Meets Prime Minister Carlsson

LD0811142889 Budapest MTI in English
1010 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Stockholm, November 8 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, currently on an official visit to Sweden, was received on Wednesday morning by Ingvar Carlsson, Swedish prime minister and president of the Social Democratic Labour Party.

The meeting took place at Rosenbad, the prime minister's office.

Further on Talks With Carlsson

LD0811232689 Budapest MTI in English
2248 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Stockholm, November 8 (MTI)—Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, chairman of the Social Democratic Labour Party, met Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), in the Prime Minister's office (Rosenbad) on Wednesday.

According to the information of an MTI correspondent, the talks were marked by friendly atmosphere. The politicians agreed that the two countries and two parties were maintaining sound relations. Mr Nyers emphasized that the experience of the Swedish model is attractive from the aspect of reform processes. Mr Carlsson stressed that the Socialist International had not any principled ground for objecting that two Hungarian parties (HSP and the Social Democratic Party) applied for admission. The politicians exchanged views on the strengthening of ties between the EFTA and Hungary.

The two party leaders gave an identical assessment to the situation in the Soviet Union. They stressed their interest in the success of Gorbachev's policy and the soonest possible stabilization. They expressed the hope that the Soviet leadership would stabilize the home policy proceses as soon as possible, which would be of particular international importance.

On Wednesday, Mr Nyers laid a wreath on Olof Palme's tomb.

The HSP president met Kjell-Olof Feldt, Minister of Finance, and Lars Werner, chairman of the Swedish Left Party—Commununists.

Mr Nyers left Stockholm on Wednesday.

Holds News Conference

AU0811174689 Paris AFP in English
1730 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Stockholm, Nov 8 (AFP)—The leader of Hungary's ruling Socialist Party, Rezsoe Nyers, warned on Wednesday that the fall of Gorbachev would be "a catastrophe for Europe and in particular for Hungary".

Mr Nyers, visiting Sweden at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party, told a press conference here that if Mr Gorbachev were forced out of office, Hungary would attempt to carry on with its reform program but the going would be "very difficult."

Asked to comment about the current upheaval in East Germany which has seen the government and the party Politburo ousted in the space of two days, Mr Nyers said: "Things are going so fast it is hard to know how it will all end."

But he added that East German leaders appeared finally to have "chosen the right path."

The Hungarian leader warned against German reunification, a controversial issue which has come to the fore in recent months with the mass exodus of East Germans to the West and the retreat of hardliners in the communist regime.

He said a reunited Germany would constitute a factor of "dangerous instability" especially as neither the Soviet Union nor the United States was prepared to face such an eventuality.

Mr Nyers, who met with Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and leaders of other Swedish parties, said his proposals to bring Hungary closer to the European Free Trade Association and the European Economic Community had met with mixed reactions.

Hungary leads the Eastern European countries in the breadth of its political and economic reforms. It recently proclaimed itself the Republic of Hungary and its Communist Party has voted itself out of existence.

Comments on GDR, Warsaw Pact

LD0811185489 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] They were too late with the reforms in East Germany. This is the real reason behind the acute political crisis in the GDR, stated Rezso Nyers, the architect of the Hungarian reform policy, who visited Stockholm today.

Rezso Nyers does not envy the GDR leaders just now. As a former minister and reformist politician in the Hungarian establishment, he knows better than anyone else the importance of carrying out the necessary changes in time. In the GDR, Nyers says, decisions are now being taken at such a rate that the GDR leaders themselves do not seem to know which direction the GDR should be developing in. The small, 66-year old Hungarian, has more than 40 years' experience of East state communism, and on one point he is very clear: The changes in the GDR today concern democratic freedoms and rights. thorough economic reforms, as in Hungary, must be a question for later. Also within the foreseeable future society will own the means of production in the GDR, Nyers believes.

The changes have progressed furthest in Hungary. Does this mean that Hungary is ready to leave the Warsaw Pact? Hungary is a sovereign state, says Nyers, for there are no formal obstacles for leaving the communist alliance. However, now is not the right time for Hungary to leave the Warsaw pact, says the former communist leader, at present chairman of the newly-formed Hungarian Socialist Party. Nyers has no doubts about Mikhail Gorbachev's importance for reform work in Eastern Europe. If Gorbachev is overthrown, it means a danger not only for Hungary but for the whole world.

Nyers is, above all, an economist, and as early as 1968 he started work to liberalize the Hungarian economy. He says that he does not think that the East European economic cooperation organization, CEMA, will be dissolved, but he sounds more convincing when he stresses the importance of openings toward the west. Today he has, among other things, discussed a Hungarian rapprochement to the European Free Trade Association with Premier Ingvar Carlsson. According to Nyers, foreign enterprises can work freely in Hungary today. When he was minister of finance in 1962, there were only seven foreign companies in Hungary, but today most of the world's big companies are represented there. Even Swedish companies are welcome, says Nyers, and lists those which are already in Hungary today.

Sees 'Avalanche' of Change in GDR

LD0811224289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] According to Rezso Nyers, the GDR is very late, but has finally started out on the right path. The chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] held a press conference in Stockholm. He said that the leadership in the GDR has increased tension to breaking point, and the events themselves started the avalanche. From this, the new GDR leadership must definitely draw the conclusions, said the Hungarian party leader.

Views USSR, Domestic Politics

LD0911004189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] According to Rezso Nyers, Hungary is an alien cell in the body of Eastern Europe with her pluralistic political changes and multiparty system. Therefore, she must rethink the possibilities of building relations relying on the reform processes.

In the course of the negotiations which the chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] held in Stockholm links between the HSP and the Socialist Internationale, relations between Hungary and the EFTA, and political and economic cooperation between Hungary and Sweden were discussed.

At the end of his visit Rezso Nyers told journalists that links between the CPSU and the HSP, that is, the successor of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, must be rebuilt. As he said, he was ready anytime to travel to Moscow to hold negotiations about this. He also spoke about the fact that a failure of reforms in the Soviet Union will endanger not only Hungary, but worldwide detente as well, and although Hungary follows her own road, an unfriendly Soviet Union will create a catastrophic situation.

Speaking about Hungarian domestic politics he did not consider unambiguous the fact that Karoly Grosz and his associates should step forward simply as followers of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, because at the party congress it was the majority which declared the change into a socialist party and named in its resolution the HSP as the successor of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

Gives Interview

LD0911041989 Budapest MTI in English 2340 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Stockholm, November 8 (MTI)—Before leaving Stockholm, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), gave an interview to the correspondent of "NEPSZABADSAG" and MTI.

Mr Nyers said that the Swedish Socialist Labour Party, his host, held it obvious that its relations maintained with the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] would be carried on with the HSP. In principle, the Swedish Social Democrats hold it possible that Hungary, similarly to some other countries, be represented in the Socialist International by two parties.

Mr Nyers said that many features of the Swedish model, first of all the government's role in the distribution of incomes and the promotion of the economic boom, would be applicable in Hungary as well.

In reply to a question on the relationship between the HSP and the CPSU, Mr Nyers said that the channels exist but in the new situation they should be strengthened. I am prepared to meet the Soviet leaders at any time, the HSP president said.

Ends Visit, Comments on Talks

LD0811225189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Rezso Nyers arrived back from Stockholm 30 minutes ago. Laszlo Gardai asked the chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party at the airport about his negotiations in Sweden

[Begin recording] [Gardai] NEPSZABADSAG has printed a cartoon with the caption. I wonder what can be taken home from the Swedish table? I want to ask you this too.

[Nyers] The main thing which we brought back with us was political experience, which we brought back in plenty. We held very wide-ranging exchanges of views with the leaders of Swedish political life on European politics, economic and social policies and on bilateral relations.

[Gardai] [passage omitted] I would now like to ask you about capital. How ready is the Swedish partner?

[Nyers] We met the leaders of the largest Swedish firms including Ericson, Alfa-level, Scania and others, and they are very interested, and they are not completely unfamiliar with Hungary's economic situation, and the relations here. However, they see and sense that a new phase is beginning in Hungary and this preoccupies them. [passage omitted] They are ready to make use of the Hungarian business opportunities to utilize this to increase their role in the entire CEMA market. [end recording]

Spanish Prime Minister Arrives for Visit

LD0711213389 Budapest MTI in English 2021 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 7 (MTI)—Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez Marquez arrived in Budapest on an official visit Tuesday in the evening on the invitation of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. This is his first trip abroad since his party won the elections one week ago. Mr Gonzalez is accompanied by Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs, and Claudio Aranzadi Martinez, minister of industry and energy. Luis de la Torre de Andres, Spanish ambassador to Hungary, joined the delegation in Budapest.

At Ferihegy Airport, the Spanish prime minister met Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs. Present was Attila Gecse, Hungarian ambassador to Spain.

In their talks scheduled to begin Wednesday morning, the two prime ministers are expected to discuss the possibilities of expanding economic, cultural, technical and scientific relations, exchange views on experience in establishing a law-governed state, and survey some topical international affairs.

Talks With Nemeth

LD0811143189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The Spanish head of government has started his discussions in Budapest. Felipe Gonzalez had an exclusive discussion with his Hungarian colleague, Miklos Nemeth. Prior to that there was a ceremonious welcome with military honors outside Parliament House on Kossuth Lajos Square for Premier Gonzalez, who arrived in our capital late last night.

Meets With Szuros

LD0811143489 Budapest MTI in English 1324 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, received visiting Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez on Wednesday in the Parliament Building, Budapest.

Following the discussions, Mr Szuros hosted a lunch in honour of his Spanish guest in Parliament's Gobelin Hall.

The event was attended by several members of Senor Gonzalez's entourage, and also present were Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian foreign affairs secretary of state, and Attila Gecse, Hungarian ambassador to Spain.

Madrid Radio on Nemeth Talks

LD0811213689 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The visit to Hungary by Acting Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, is serving to underline Spain's willingness to lend all possible support to the economic development of the new republic on the road to democratization. RNE special correspondent Diego Armario, reports on the visit:

[Armario] In an hour's time Prime Minister Gonzalez and the delegation accompanying him are due to attend an official dinner hosted by his Hungarian counterpart

Miklos Nemeth. The talks held so far have been positive and useful and, according to statements to us by Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez, three agreements will be signed tomorrow: one of the recognition or validation of university degrees of diplomas, another on industrial cooperation, and a third on guaranteeing and protecting investments. In short, there is a positive discrimination in favor of Hungary. [passage omitted]

Further on Talks

*LD0811214789 Budapest MTI in English
1923 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—As reported earlier, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez held talks with his host, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, on Wednesday. In the course of the meeting, lasting for more than an hour, the sides exchanged views on the situation of the two countries, the current processes in Hungary, and the international conditions of the latter.

Later on, the prime ministers were joined by Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs, Luis de la Torre de Andres, Spanish ambassador to Hungary, Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs, and Attila Gecse, Hungarian ambassador to Spain. Both sides laid emphasis on the development of industrial ties and stressed the importance of productive investment and cooperation between small and medium-size plants. Environmental protection, water management, postgraduate training and the exchange of experts were raised as prospective fields of cooperation.

The Hungarian side indicated its willingness to take part in investment projects related to the great events to take place in Spain in 1992—the Olympic Games, the Sevilla World Expo, and the European cultural forum. The idea of concluding agreements on the mutual protection of investments, the recognition of univesity degrees and industrial cooperation was also raised. The Spanish side welcomed the Hungarian initiative to streamline the issuance of visas.

Mr Nemeth stressed that Spanish experience in the process of democratization were important for Hungary.

At noon Matyas Szuros interim president of the republic of Hungary, received Mr Gonzalez in the Parliament building. Mr Szuros emphasized that Hungary badly needed international support which would enable this country to catch up in all respects with the advanced European states. He held it significant that changes similar to Hungary's were under way in the other socialist countries. Mr Szuros termed the processes taking place in the Soviet Union as particularly important and underlined the interrelationship between the success of perestroyka and the Hungarian reforms.

Mr Gonzalez said that his country's affiliation to the NATO had not hindered but even promoted democratic transformation and economic development. He added that careful consideration of international realities was particularly important for a country belonging to an alliance system, like Hungary.

Following the discussions, Mr Szuros hosted a lunch in honour of his Spanish guest and the entourage.

In the afternoon, the Spanish prime minister saw the sights of Budapest. On Castle Hill, Mr Gonzalez laid flowers on the memorial tablet of the Spanish soldiers who died for the liberation of Buda in 1686.

In the guest house of the government, the Spanish prime minister held talks with Hungary's president candidates.

Received by Presidential Candidates

*LD0811233289 Budapest MTI in English
2245 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—As reported earlier, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez met candidates for the post of president of the Republic in Budapest on Wednesday.

Imre Pozsgay, candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), said that the Hungarian changes had been initiated by the reform forces of the ruling party. He emphasized that the HSP advocated free elections even if it was aware that it would have to pay for the mistakes of its predecessor.

Kalman Kulcsar, candidate of the Patriotic People's Front, informed Mr Gonzalez on the legal conditions of democratic transformation. He said that a new constitution would be approved after the parliamentary elections next year.

Mr Gonzalez spoke in both meetings about Spanish experience in democratization.

In his meeting with Lajos Fur, candidate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), and Jozsef Antall, MDF president, the Spanish prime minister said that Hungary's democratic transformation had become a European affair: its success would lie in the interest of both Spain and the other member countries of the European communities.

Dinner Speeches Reported

*LD0911052389 Madrid Domestic Service
in Spanish 2200 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] [Announcer] In Hungary, the official visit by Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez is continuing, a visit of which today was the busiest day so far as contacts are concerned, contacts that culminated in an official dinner that ended a few minutes ago. This was a meeting at which the prime ministers of Hungary and Spain exchanged points of view, with a number of things in common. Diego Armario reports:

[Armario] [words indistinct] here coincide in their analyses, and the speeches have been complementary, too, in the approach to necessary bilateral cooperation between

Spain and Hungary. Felipe Gonzalez, we believe, spoke not only as the Spanish prime minister—in which capacity he is paying the visit—but also as a leader of one of the 12 countries of the EEC. He stressed the commitment and solidarity free Europe feels compelled to give to the process toward such freedom which have been set in motion by Hungary and Poland, among other countries. Felipe Gonzalez, who is aware of the admiration felt here in Budapest for the Spanish experience, the transition from a dictatorship to what is now a democracy, did not wish to avoid the commitment to helping this process, not only within the framework of the community, but also from a bilateral point of view. Perhaps, if you like, it might be a good thing to hear an extract from his speech?

[Announcer] Let's hear it.

[Begin Gonzalez recording] The launching and consolidation of freedoms, the revitalization of an economic structure, and the achievement of a just and balanced social fabric are not easy objectives. They demand constancy and a sense of solidarity on the part of everyone. Perhaps we Spaniards, who recently underwent a process of profound changes, are in a position to evaluate and understand your efforts. At the same time, we are willing to consider and lend the necessary cooperation insofar as we are able within both the community and the bilateral frameworks. [end recording]

[Armario] I think we ought to mention the speech by Prime Minister Nemeth, who was self-critical about the process his country has undergone, said that the process to which the Hungarians are committed have as their objective the dismantling—he used this term—of the obsolete structures of the Stalinist social model and the lay of the foundations of a democratic socialism. However, he stressed to this end that without solid economic progress there is no possibility of a lasting sociopolitical lift-off. I would round off this brief account on Nemeth's speech by saying that he did not avoid the subject of NATO or military blocs. He said that Hungary would continue to aspire to the strengthening of peace and security, and that possibly, when the policy of detente between the two blocs prospers, the two blocs will not be necessary.

[Announcer] The desire for mutual cooperation made clear in the official speeches would, in fact, seem to have been put into practice already during the meetings that took place throughout the day, meetings that had two main aspects: One political, and one economic. Aurora Minguez reports:

[Minguez] The success of the Hungarian experiment is the concern of the whole of the EEC, and of course, of Spain. This is the thinking dominating this first official visit by a Spanish prime minister to Hungary, and this is the message Felipe Gonzalez conveyed to his interlocutors throughout the day. As you said, it has without doubt been a day with a strong political content, including a meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth which lasted almost 2 hours, and a lunch with Matyas Szuros, acting president of the republic, who is also president of the parliament. On both occasions, Felipe Gonzalez expressed our country's support for the political and economic reforms in Hungary, support that in the immediate future will crystallize in Spain's sponsorship of Hungary's applications for entry into the Council of Europe and the Group of 24.

This afternoon, Felipe Gonzalez also had meetings with the three candidates for the presidency of Hungary: Pozsgay, of the Socialist Party; Kulcsar, of the Patriotic Front; and Fuer, of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. Pozsgay reiterated to Prime Minister Gonzalez the aspiration of the recently constituted Hungarian Socialist Party of joining the Socialist International. He said that he is confident of being elected president; in spite of his strong connection with the previous regime. With regard to the possibility of Hungary becoming neutral in the medium term, Pozsgay said the following this afternoon:

[Begin Pozsgay recording in Hungarian with superimposed Spanish translation] Europe could withdraw Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. [end recording]

[Minguez] The economic content of this visit will become concrete tomorrow with the signing of a protocol on industrial and technological cooperation between the two governments which entails advice on the restructuring of state companies and the formation of the guidelines and programs on mutual assistance. In this respect, the Spanish company (CAF) [expansion unknown], the Spanish National Railway Network are going to begin collaboration programs with the Hungarian railways company.

Toasted by Gonzalez

LD0811233189 Budapest MTI in English
2228 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—The Spanish politicians belonging to the entourage of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez held talks with their Hungarian counterparts on Wednesday.

Jose Claudio Arazandi, minister of industry and energy, met Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, who gave briefs on privatization, the opportunities of foreign capital investment in Hungary, and the prospects of the convertibility of the forint.

Mr Arazindi met Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office. The sides held it necessary for the two governments to promote direct cooperation between companies and the establishment of joint ventures with central measures.

Andras Derzsi, minister of transport, telecommunication and construction, held talks with Apolonia Ruiz Ligero, state secretary of trade at the Ministry of Economy and Finance. The sides exchanged views on the construction works of the Seville world expo, the Hungarian projects connected with the Vienna-Budapest world expo, and the possibilities of Spanish Involvement in the extension of Hungary's telephone, motorway and railway networks.

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In the evening, Miklos Nemeth hosted a dinner in honour of his guest. Toasts were delivered by both prime ministers.

In his toast, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth evaluated Felipe Gonzalez's visit to Budapest as an outstanding event of Hungarian-Spanish relations.

'We recognize our similar interests and endeavours in more and more areas, such as integration into the community of European peoples, advocacy of democratic values, and the consolidation of world peace and security. We, Hungarians, are particularly interested in the experience of our Spanish guests in dismantling a dictatorial regime and introducing democracy,' Mr Nemeth said.

'The republic of Hungary seeks to base its future on the time-honoured values of democratic socialism and Western-type democracies.

'Hungary invariably wishes to help strengthen peace and security, and promote the causes of confidence and cooperation between peoples. It is a vital interest of the peoples of Europe that the Vienna talks on the limitation of conventional armed forces in Europe yield an agreement as soon as possible. Hungary is prepared to make concrete, unilateral steps and initiatives so that the level of military confrontation be reduced considerably.'

Mr Nemeth expressed the hope that a broadening dialogue between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO, the subordination of military considerations to political interests, and the transformation of strategic doctrines into defensive ones may lead, in the long run, to an end of military confrontation and the elimination of the two military alliance systems.

Understanding and active support by the advanced states of the world are determining for the success of sweeping reforms in Hungary. This country strives to institutionalize and deepen its relations with the organizations of the European integration. Spain, as a member of the EEC, can do a lot to this effect, Mr Nemeth said in his toast.

Talks Continue 9 Nov

LD0911135789 Budapest MTI in English 0913 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—Thursday's programme of visiting Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez commenced with a wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial of the Hungarian heroes.

Subsequently, the negotiations which began the day before, continued in the Parliament building, where Mr Gonzalez was received by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The discussion was also attended by Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs and the ambassadors of the two countries, Attila Gecse, Hungarian and Luis de la Torre de Andres, Spanish ambassador in Budapest.

Spanish Daily Interviews Nyers on HSP

PM0911140889 Madrid ABC in Spanish 3 Nov 89 p 34

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by Agnes Koroncz; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[introductory passage omitted] [Koroncz] Why did you choose your present post [as party chairman] instead of remaining a minister?

[Nyers] I realized that change and democracy, like the separation of politics and economics, are crucial—and this applies from the viewpoint of economic reforms, too. Last summer there arose within the party the need for someone to bring together the different tendencies that had emerged within it. This is why I accepted the post.

[Koroncz] Do you believe that the new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], will enjoy greater credibility than the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]?

[Nyers] The birth of the HSP was a painful one, since it had to take place by cesarean section. Its credibility depends on its political platform. Although at the congress only 18 percent of delegates refused to accept the platform of this modern party that wants to establish internal democracy, we know that a large proportion of former MSZMP members will not join the new party. Hitherto only 10 percent have renewed their membership. The fact is that we should have a communist party.

[Koroncz] The new party is the result of compromises. What did you personally sacrifice for its sake?

[Nyers] I abandoned many of the MSZMP's positive activities, and I would have liked to avoid this, adhering to my scientific nd political convictions. In the past 33 years there have been many positive things, which we acknowledged at the congress. Furthermore, I reached a compromise with regard to the party leadership. In my opinion it would have been possible to elect to the leadership more members of the former MSZMP team.

[Koroncz] There are many rumors about the 24-member Presidium. Can such a large and heterogeneous group lead a party efficiently?

[Nyers] It is indeed a large number. But there are no fundamental discrepancies between the tendencies that they represent. They are not mutually exclusive. They are capable of finding common ground. This takes tolerance.

[Koroncz] What will be the nature of the HSP's relations with the other communist parties of Eastern Europe, where the party and state are the same thing, whereas in Hungary they are now separate? How will the HSP's relations with the parties of the Western Left be shaped?

[Nyers] We have excellent relations with reformist communist parties, such as those of the USSR, Poland, Yugoslavia, or Italy. But we want correct relations with all communist parties, based on independence and freedom of expression, which does not entail our identifying with their policies. It is true that the aspect you mention could prove irritating. In other countries it is the party that makes the decisions, whereas here it is the state. We do not yet have the machinery for overcoming these difficulties. As far as the western world is concerned, we want to forge ties with its socialist and social democratic parties on the basis of political and philosophical common ground. We also intend to join the Socialist International.

[Koroncz] In Italy and, to some extent, Spain the example of the Hungarian party has been used to demonstrate that communism has failed. What is your opinion in this regard?

[Nyers] The Italian Communist Party has long rejected that which has failed. In its case, the name and the substance do not coincide. The traditional concept of communism implies Stalinism—and this has failed. The conception of communism held by Marx—who harmonized the idea of freedom with that of equality—has not failed, since in fact it has never been established in any country. It is a utopia. That which we were implementing hitherto was not communism.

Trade Ministry on Lifting of EC Restrictions

LD0711153189 Budapest MTI in English
1422 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 7, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The welcome decision on Monday by the EC Ministerial Council, under which all quantitative restrictions on Hungarian and Polish industrial exports to the EC are to be scrapped from January 1, 1990 rather than phased out over five years as originally planned, has far greater political significance than economic, according to the Ministry of Trade.

The ministry has been seeking such exemptions since Hungary joined GATT in 1973 but points out that the range of products affected by the move—shoes, gloves, pottery, toys and brooms—represents only one or two per cent of total exports and will add perhaps 30-40 million dollars to revenues from EC-destined goods, which last year totalled 2.6 billion USD.

The EC Ministerial Council also decided to extend GSP [expansion unknown] to Hungary and Poland, the details of which are still being studied by the Trade Ministry.

Szuros Receives ROK Minister of State

LD0711174389 Budapest MTI in English
1623 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 7 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met on Tuesday [7 November] Pak Chol-un, minister of state of the Republic of Korea, at the minister's request.

The parties discussed questions related to the visit to be paid by President No Tae-u to Budapest from November 22-24 as the first South Korean president to visit Hungary.

Pozsgay Holds News Conference Upon Return Home

Discusses Foreign Trip

LD0811205589 Budapest MTI in English
1716 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—Informing newsmen about his two-week foreign trip in the Parliament building, Budapest, on Tuesday, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay said he had visited four countries in four different capacities. He went to Britain as the Hungarian chief patron of the Hungarian cultural days event, to Canada as the guest of local Hungarians, to the United States to examine business opportunities and to Finland as president of the Hungarian-Finnish society.

Mr Pozsgay stressed that economic matters figured prominently in his talks in all the four countries. He said he was not out to get business—this sort of thing was not in keeping with his qualifications or position—but was in pursuit of economic policy conditions for backing up the Hungarian reform process. This was necessary mainly in light of the recognition that the success of democratization and the political reform process depends on whether the economic difficulties can be overcome, the minister of state said.

Mr Pozsgay also mentioned that U.S. President George Bush put him in the picture about the preparations for the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting, and stated that the United States acknowledges the current changes in Eastern Europe and has no intention of taking any counter-measures.

This was also the President's answer to Washington rumours that the Gorbachev-Bush summit will be a 'new Yalta' for redistributing the spheres of interest, Imre Pozsgay said.

The minister of state called it a positive fact that none of the opposition parties are trying to forge political capital from the economic troubles. The population senses these problems through the deterioration of its living conditions. Should the living conditions not improve considerably, he said, discontent will be manifest in a spontaneous action which no party will be able to stop.

Mr Pozsgay said that the west has its ways and means of helping Hungary. Now the task is to find the ways of assistance because what Hungary needs is not aid but up-to-date technology, namely the easing of the strict Cocom [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy] stipulations, and working capital. He said he proposed the concerned government officials of Britain, Canada, the United States and Finland should grant tax allowances for those giving production means or raising cash foundations for Hungary.

Answering questions, Imre Pozsgay said that, accompanied by the manager of the Raba waggon and machine factory of Gyor, he called at the General Motors centre in Detroit and conferred about the setting up of an engine factory in Hungary with 200 million dollars of capital investment.

Andrew Sarlos, one of Pozsgay's Canadian hosts, announced he would start collecting a second, 250-million-dollar fund after his first "Hungary foundation" worth 80 million dollars. The condition here is that the sum should not be used for the repayment of loans and that all Hungarian political forces should declare unanimously their interest in using the cash funds. Gyorgy Egri, a colleague of Andrew Sarlos, is already in Budapest to acquire the declaration of the political parties as soon as possible. Mr Egri said that use of the fund would be guaranteed by the National Bank of Hungary and managed by the Hungarian Credit Bank.

Views National Media, Elections

LD0811233389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Following his 2 week visit to Great Britain, Canada, the United States, and Finland, Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, held an international news conference in Parliament. Gyoergyi Karaly reports:

[Kiraly] [passage omitted] What is your opinion of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP]? Does the HSWP signify a threat to the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]? No, it does not, stated Imre Pozsgay categorically. It is true that I have been away for 2 weeks, and am just catching up, but it does not surprize me that followers of the HSWP are forming a party. I was convinced back at the congress that the HSP is a new party. Its membership is not the same as that of the predecessor party.

The television reporter repeated the question which was already heard in yesterday's "evening magazine," as to what would be the fate of television; when would the supervisory committee formed of representatives of the various parties stand at its head? Imre Pozsgay said that he had asked the government before his departure to entrust supervision of the national media to somebody else, for if the election campaign for the Presidency were to commence, it would not be ethical for him to continue to direct this area. Unfortunately, he added, he had not yet received a reply. At the political coordination talks they agreed that the various parties, in the spirit of equality of chances in the election struggle, could represent themselves in the radio and television supervisory committees. Upon hearing this, for the state minister had touched upon this yesterday in his radio interview, four opposition parties—the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the Independent Smallholders party—announced at a news conference that they do not wish to create supervisory committees.

I told Imre Pozsgay of their stance. His reaction to this was that unfortunately the parties had not coordinated this with him. If the news is true, the political coordination talks must continue so that at last a decision may be reached on supervision of the national media.

* Moscow-Tel Aviv Air Link Via Budapest

90EC0079a Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 21 Oct 89 p 13

[Unattributed article: "Moscow-Budapest-Tel Aviv"]

[Text] In recent weeks and months Soviet citizens have been standing in line in front of MALEV's Moscow office to reserve space on one or another flight of the Hungarian airline. This unusually great interest may be attributed to the fact that since last spring Budapest and Tel Aviv have been linked by scheduled flights, and that in recent months Soviet authorities have granted more emigrant and visitor's passports than ever before.

According to information received by our Moscow reporter, MALEV is already booking space on next year's flights between Moscow-Budapest-Tel Aviv. (Ticket prices from Moscow to Tel Aviv amount to almost $1,500 or the ruble equivalent, including excess baggage charges that are almost unavoidable for emigrants.) Because there are no direct flights between the Soviet Union and Israel at this time, the three airlines involved (AEROFLOT, EL AL and MALEV) intend to jointly serve the traffic through Budapest, according to Istvan Virag, MALEV international division chief.

To this date there have been no direct flights between the Soviet Union and Israel, but rumors are that this issue is likely to be resolved shortly, perhaps in the course of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres' Moscow negotiations. The MALEV division chief remarked that "it is in our obvious business interest for the Hungarian airline to serve the Moscow-Tel Aviv traffic, even if only for a few months."

In relation to the the Moscow-Budapest-Tel Aviv flight we asked Colonel Karoly Nagy, head of the Interior Ministry's National Central Alien Control Office, whether there is a realistic threat that halfway between the Soviet and Israeli capitals, i.e. in Budapest, some passengers would announce that they had changed their minds and that instead of Israel they wanted to continue their voyage to the United States or some other place. Many have done so before in Vienna. The response was that Hungarian authorities would like to avoid situations in which anyone would stay in Budapest as a result of changing his or her mind. In an ideal situation, planes arriving from Moscow would land in Budapest only for technical reasons, without allowing passengers to disembark.

* Talks Between 1956 Adversaries Convened

90EC0080e Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 25 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Budapest Committee has initiated a societal roundtable discussion in the context of remembering the 1956 popular uprising. As a result of negotiations with representatives of the Historical Justice Committee, the Recsk Association, and the National Association of Political Prisoners, those affected in different ways by the events of 33 years ago could sit at the same table at the MSZP election center Tuesday afternoon [24 Oct].

At a Tuesday morning press conference, Budapest Party Committee Secretary Andras Fabricki told reporters that the party needs to "settle its account" with those who stood on the other side of the barricades during the 1956 popular uprising and innocently suffered denigration. In Fabricki's view, however, this should not be the task of those who are currently in their thirties and forties. This should be done by the older generation. The three organizations were requested to join the societal roundtable because the Party Committee hopes that a decent exchange of ideas will take place, primarily with regard to common views concerning the past events. The accurate knowledge and evaluation of the events is indispensable from the standpoint of effectively serving the future. That is, there can be no progress as long as matters are unsettled.

The late Eva Kallai's husband, Miklos Szanto, and Imre Kurucz appeared on behalf of those involved in the events at the Koztarsasag Square party headquarters building, while the MSZP presidium assigned Ivan Vitanyi, Sandor Balogh, and Andras Fabricki. They also requested Janos Molnar, Party History Institute expert, to participate. Among others, the partners were represented by Arpad Goncz, Andras B. Hegedus, Szilard Ujhelyi, Tibor Zimanyi, and Robert Szalay.

The party committee secretary also reported that the present negotiating partners have rejected a number of initiatives, including one for the joint celebration of 15 March, and for a joint remembrance on 16 June. At the same time they agreed to hold a joint scientific conference on Villanyi Street 31 October on matters related to 1956.

In conclusion, Andras Fabricki applauded the manner in which citizens of Budapest remembered the events of 33 years ago. He said that the constructive approach of speakers indicates that there is a good chance of finding a joint evolutionary path in the nation's interest.

* Agenda for 21 Nov Parliamentary Session Set

90EC0079b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 25 Oct 89 p 3

[Text] Pursuant to Paragraph 22.(2) of the Constitution, the acting president of Parliament set the next session of the National Assembly for 10:00 am, 21 November 1989. At the session, the legislative body is expected to debate the following matters:

—Legislative proposal to amend the tax laws (personal income, general sales, and entrepreneurial profit taxes);

—Legislative proposal concerning allotments due after state property;

—Legislative proposal to amend the law concerning fees;

—Report on 1990 budget guidelines, the fundamental economic policy tasks of the coming year, with projections for 1991 and 1992;

—Legislative proposal to amend the labor law, to prohibit discrimination at the workplace;

—Amendments to the Criminal Code of Laws to review provisions concerning stringent detention;

—Amendments to laws related to constitutional amendments (laws concerning the courts, the prosecutor's office, and national defense); and

—Report on preparations for the Budapest-Vienna world fair.

Based on a decision made by the National Assembly, the session that was announced to begin on 31 October will begin on 30 October. At that session, prior to the originally scheduled debate concerning a council of ministers report on the Hungarian and international legal, economic, ecological, and technical consequences of work continued at Nagymaros during the period of work suspension, the remaining agenda items of the session that began on 17 October will be debated. These are:

—Legislative proposal concerning the State Accounting Office;

—Legislative proposal to amend the land law;

—Legislative proposal to amend the law on popular referendums;

—Proposal for a National Assembly resolution concerning the announcement of elections for president of the republic, and to settle certain procedural issues concerning that election;

—Proposal concerning the National Assembly resolution ordering a popular referendum;

—Interpellations, questions; and

—Personal proposals.

Warsaw TV Interviews Kohl on Polish Visit

LD0811223789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Interview with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by unidentified reporter on the eve of Kohl's visit to Poland; date, place not given; Kohl's remarks in German with superimposed Polish translation—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Tomorrow you are starting the long-awaited visit to Poland. It is to open a new chapter in the relations between our two countries. What is this chapter to be like so that it really can be called a new one?

[Kohl] This visit is really important to me, as the chancellor of FRG and as Helmut Kohl. As you probably remember, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in his first government declaration in 1949 stated that it was the wish of the Germans, and in particular of the newly-created government of the FRG, to have peace and reconciliation with all the nations with whom we were at war. Such was the general formula. Next Adenauer mentioned three nations and states: Israel, France and Poland.

In the past 40 years we have managed, in spite of the Holocaust and those cruel deeds performed by the National Socialists on the Jewish population, to establish friendly relations with Israel and in particular to bring about a reconciliation and friendly contacts between the young generations here at home and in Israel. Also, and I consider this a great event in the history of Germany and Europe, there took place a true reconciliation, close cooperation and friendship with France.

Now the time has come to realize the third task: reconciliation with Poland. I am starting the visit in your country with the intention of opening a new chapter in the history of our relations. Speaking about history, I also have in mind that we never forget in the FRG and in Poland about what happened in the past. The 1,000-year-old history of Polish-German relations, really, was shaped for very long periods by friendship.

But the shadow was cast on these relations by modern history: that is the attack of Hitlerite Germany on Poland and the crimes perpetrated by Fascists. I think that we ought to be honest to each other, no side can wipe out the past from its memory. Horrific deeds against Poles took place in the name of Germany, but also bad things were done to Germans in the name of Poland—here I have in mind the resettlement of Germans after 1944 and 1945.

That is why I am of the opinion that if one knows the history, there exists a possibility of a new beginning. We signed in 1970 in Warsaw a treaty, whose spirit and letter were observed by us for all these years. But a lot of time has passed between 1970 and 1989. Europe is at present in the phase of great transformations. The democratically-elected Polish Government is our partner in our talks. I think that this is a great chance. It is my desire to extend my hand to reconciliation and to initiate a new chapter. Earlier, there were events making the new stage possible, but now I would like to make my personal contribution to reconciliation, having in mind above all the future generations.

[Correspondent] Europe needs a stable Poland. Our government is doing everything to bring this about. It is known, however, that without outside help, acceleration of transformations in Poland is not possible. What will be the attitude of FRG towards Poland, and what specific proposals can be expected from your side?

[Kohl] What is now taking place in Poland and in Hungary, what General Secretary Gorbachev promised for the Soviet Union within perestroyka, what is happening in Prague, and what we can see from the mass demonstrations in the GDR—is a truly historic phenomenon. All this allows one to hope that people in Europe will rediscover the way to each other and will turn toward each other. Peace and freedom in the whole of Europe is our greatest desire. We constitute a part of the whole European Community, which is a great chance for unification of our continent. I always stressed that Europe is not just the EEC.

Europe contains 12 countries, and Krakow, Warsaw, Prague, Leipzig, Dresden, and Budapest—to mention but a few important places—are also part of Europe. In connection with the reforms in Poland I tried, recently, with considerable commitment, to contribute to EEC recognition of Poland as the hope of the future Europe. This is a very ancient European country which contributed a lot to our continent. We hope that this will continue in the future. This as regards our activities in Europe itself. [sentence as heard] I supported the issue of assistance to Poland during the Paris summit of the seven economic powers. No doubt you are familiar with U.S. President George Bush's program which we will also participate in. We will also work very hard for others to join in the great program worked out by the Americans. During bilateral contacts we have reached agreement on many questions and we shall sign a number of agreements with Poland. These must be implemented quickly.

I see two important fields where we can and want to give you assisance. First, we will do everything to help you implement the program of economic reforms, which will improve the living conditions of the population in Poland. We can give you a lot of advice on this, more than anyone else in Europe we are engaged financially in the processes of reforms. I consider this to be postitive, I advocate this stance in our internal debates. Second, I am striving for as many FRG enterprises as possible to create joint enterprises in Poland. I would also like the owners of our medium and small enterprises and farms and processing plants, to think jointly with your specialists about the opportunities to help to heal your economy rapidly. This is in our joint, well-understood interests.

Reconciliation and reforms will only mean something concrete and understandable to Poles if they produce real results. This is precisely the purpose of my visit—to contribute to the actual results.

[Correspondent] Relations between Poland and the FRG do not have a political and economic dimension alone; an important role is also played here by the moral aspect. How do you, chancellor, see for example the issue of compensation for the forced laborers on Third Reich territory during World War II?

[Kohl] As you know, talks were started on this subject at the time of the 1970 treaty. Anyone in Poland who wants to start a discussion on this subject must be aware that the resources we can devote to this purpose are not unlimited. The FRG is involved in this issue more than any other European state. During my visit we are also going to raise this problem. However, I would like to emphasize clearly that some people in Poland are expressing hopes which certainly cannot be fulfilled.

[Correspondent] The future of Europe depends on a strengthening of the peaceful order on our continent. Its basis will continue to be the inviolability of the state borders. However, the debate about borders, which is in progress in the FRG, worries Polish public opinion. What stance on this important issue are you going to take during your visit, chancellor?

[Kohl] I do not think people in Poland should worry about these debates which in any case are raised only in some communities. As I said at the outset of our conversation, the 1970 treaty remains in force. A treaty was concluded in Warsaw between the FRG and Poland. this treaty is an agreement by which both the FRG and Poland are bound. The FRG declared in it that it did not make any claims in respect to Poland's borders. Naturally Poland has the same obligation in respect of the FRG. However, speaking of borders we should say frankly—and these discussions altogether only make sense when they are conducted frankly—that we, the Germans, have no peace treaty.

I would also like to emphasize that I, as chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, am not entitled to make statements on behalf of Germany; I can only do that on behalf of the FRG.

The treaty from Warsaw contains several sections. I cited the first one just a moment ago. One of the subsequent sections says that that treaty violates neither any of the treaties concluded by our countries previously nor any international agreements.

At present nobody in the Federal Republic of Germany can unite Germany by making some statement. No one should expect that. I have already said this once, and I shall repeat it in Warsaw, that every citizen of our country knows that former German territories are by now inhabited by the second and third generations of Poles. Each one of us recognizes this and understands what it means.

[Correspondent] The European peoples wish for the borders between East and West to be permeable. That would help in realizing the idea of Gorbachev's common European home. What place, in your opinion, should our states, Poland and the FRG, occupy in that home? What will be the significance of relations between our states for the future of Europe?

[Kohl] I think we shall have an important position. We Germans occupy a significant place in this process, and not just because we ourselves consider us to be important. It is enough to look at the map. Our state lies in the heart of Europe. By the very virtue of our geographic position we are a kind of bridge. We belong to the Western system of social values, which I have emphasized repeatedly. That is why an attachment to human and civil rights elaborated by the Western societies is for me inherent in the Federal Republic of Germany's raison d'etre. That is incontrovertible. I would once again like to state clearly that there is no road of neutrality for the FRG. We are at the threshold, or rather at the beginning, of a historic development. If we look today at East-West relations we shall see that they are in many ways connected with the reforms in Poland, with the abandonment of old and fossilized ideas of the cold war.

The present situation creates opportunities for real disarmament. We have succeeded, which nobody had believed possible, in signing the first treaty on elimination of intermediate range missiles in history. Now these missiles are being dismantled and next they wll be scrapped. In my opinion, we also have in the immediate future a great opportunity for dealing with chemical weapons. That is another horrific type of weapon and we Germans also wish for these weapons to cease to exist soon.

At the last session of the North Atlantic Pact in May this year—it was a NATO summit—we prepared conceptions for the Vienna negotiations on disarmament and force reductions. These negotiations are moving ahead. Although I am no clairvoyant, I suppose that as early as next year another accord will be signed, this time concerning conventional weapons.

Some historians maintain that we have now reached the twilight of the post-war era. I think it's true. If we are able to reduce significantly arms and troops, and open borders and realize that which Konrad Adenauer always spoke about, that would mean that freedom is more important than borders, then, I believe, we will have taken an enormous step forward. In this new situation Poland is going to play an important role. I come from Rhineland- Palatinate which is the cradle of German democracy. Last century it was precisely the French, the Poles, and the Germans who were creating all that which constitutes the basis of democracy, that is, civil rights and the right to freedom. Why shouldn't we carry on collaborating in that direction?

Remembering the cultural links between Poles and Germans in the past, and also the academic exchange, I also see in these spheres chances for cooperation between Poland and European Community countries. I look to the future with enormous optimism. The fact that for a long time—and above all in contemporary history—relations between Paris and Warsaw have been particularly positively assessed, most probably has great significance for Polish viewers. The present century can supply much proof of that.

An important argument for Warsaw could also be the very warm relations between France and the Federal German Republic at present. For example, the President of France Francois Mitterrand during a visit to Bonn on 3 November spoke about the unification of Germany. I am putting it into my own words: the president said that every nation has the right to self-determination. That right also naturally belongs to the Germans. One could say that a sign of the present times is peace, and in my conviction, freedom in the whole of Europe and reconciliation. I would like to use that chance.

I am going with complete conviction with the Polish premier to Krzyzowa. Poles and Germans will discover themselves there again, in the place which more than any other symbolizes other Germans and the fight with the reigning fascism—from our point of view. During the war people met in Krzyzowa and thought about what was going to happen after Hitler, what would happen after the war, and what kind of order of peace there was going to be in Europe. Returning to that place today we recall that heritage.

Please permit me to make a personal digression as the leader of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. Unfortunately, few of these people survived; most of them perished in [word indistinct] in connection with the 20 July 1944 events [attempted assasination of Hitler]

Those who survived, however, jointly created the CDU after the war. They were its founders, the fathers of our party. Eugen Gerstienmaier, the leader of the Bundestag for many years, was a person from the Krzyzowa group—he was also my considerably older friend, from whom I learned a lot. Remembering this, I am going to Poland, and in particular Krzyzowa.

[Correspaondent] Mr Chancellor, during meetings, including meetings with us, journalists, speaking about great politics, you also spoke about your private views. What are your expectations in connection with this visit as a citizen of the Federal German Republic, as Helmut Kohl?

[Kohl] The visit already has its own kind of historical challenge. As I have already recalled, I hail from southwest Germany, in other words areas bordering France. I experienced, rather I had to get to know, what the eternal enmity between Germans and the French meant. Thus, I now know what friendship means. You have surely seen a photograph which I posed for together with President Mitterrand in (Verdun). It was a symbol of reconciliation on the graves of two terrible wars. I am very moved when I think that perhaps, without overestimating my own possibilities, I shall contribute to a similar reconciliation in Poland.

I have already been involved with politics for more than 40 years, virtually since my school times. In this period I have fought for a greater Europe and for reconciliation. I am capable of using the lessons of history. If now I am going to Warsaw, Kracow and Krzyzowa, and also to Auschwitz, I know exactly what that means. I am experiencing it very strongly.

As a Christian Democrat I am aware of the heritage of my party. The founders gained their experience during the years of the Third Reich, from concentration camps and prisons, as well external and internal emigration. We said at that time: never again war—we young people did, as well. Now I am Chancellor, but then I didn't expect that and didn't take that possibility into consideration. I am talking here specifically about emphasizing that I feel that heritage, that striving towards a great Europe, in which Poles and Germans are going to live together in the future. The heritage which makes us aware of also being Europeans. This old continent, which many have wanted to write off, has been reborn, and there are still many possibilities alive in it. It is capable of taking part in the concert of the great players of this world and of having its own role in it.

Mazowiecki Views Relations With FRG

AU0911084689 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Nov 89 p 4

[Report by Stefan Dietrich on interview with Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki in Warsaw: "Caution Required When Using Word Reconciliation"; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 November—In his government statement on 12 September, Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki outlined a vision of a country with free citizens, a sound economy, and open borders. "We want a Poland that makes its contribution, without any inferiority complex, to creating material and cultural values." However, Mazowiecki made it clear that hard work and sacrifices will be necessary to achieve this. As a result of the heavy burden of his daily political work, Mazowiecki apparently finds it difficult to return to his vision.

Poland is currently in a phase of transition from the totalitarian system to democracy. What path will it embark on, and what will be the special features of a future Polish democracy? According to Mazowiecki, the elements of social democracy are deeply rooted among the Polish people. This has to be taken into consideration when introducing the market economy. "Social security and elements of codetermination will be essential components of the future democratic conditions in Poland."

"Solidarity" is a special Polish feature, which continues to be both a trade union and a social movement. "It is difficult to say how it will further develop as a movement, whether it will develop into a single political group that represents this movement, or whether it will develop into several groups." "Solidarity" must be allowed to develop naturally, without interference from above. The government can only create the legal and political conditions for this process. "The values of 'Solidarity' will still exist in 5 or 10 years' time in one form or another in the Polish reality."

Poland's dramatic economic and financial situation overshadows all other difficulties. "This is the most difficult part of governing." Apart from that, "there is a general problem, which concerns the citizens' attitude toward the government and the government's attitude toward the citizens. People must gradually get used to the fact that the state is not responsible for everything." It is not easy to abandon such ideas, even if the "moloch state" and its overall responsibility are generally rejected. "It will take a certain time for the population to adapt to the new situation and to learn how to organize many spheres of public life themselves." A total of 85 percent of the Polish population trust Mazowiecki—a rate of which politicians in other countries can only dream.

The people's confidence in the government is currently being strained to a considerable extent. People in other countries would have hardly accepted the social reductions of this summer, including price increases for basic foodstuffs of up to 1,000 percent, in such a calm manner as the Poles who have staged so many strikes and put up so much resistance. However, will they continue to follow Mazowiecki through thick and thin, or will they soon listen to others who promise the Poles an easier way out than the market economy and democracy? The past few months "have convinced me of the great maturity of the people and of their willingness to make sacrifices," Mazowiecki states. However, the prime minister is also aware of the fact that there is a limit to the citizens' patience and "that I have to take this limit into consideration."

Limits and borders will also be a topic in his talks with Chancellor Kohl. However, "the Oder-Neisse border is not up for discussion," Mazowiecki points out. In his view, a satisfactory solution can only be found in a European state of peace, in which the "inviolability of borders" is generally recognized. According to Mazowiecki, the separation of Europe can "only be eliminated in two phases." He understands this as a "process of growing economic and cultural cooperation as well as the gradual dissolution of the military alliances." "I think this process has already started, but it will still last a long time."

An essential element of this process, the German question, is a German and a European problem in Mazowiecki's view. "One has to see it in these categories, and I think that officials in the FRG see it the same way." Poland will observe developments and press for all aspects—the all-European interests and the rights of the victorious powers—to be taken into consideration. "Poland will not interfere directly." The prime minister is not willing to elaborate on what state form of the future Germany would be desirable from the viewpoint of Polish interests.

The word "reconciliation" will repeatedly be used in the toasts and statements during the chancellor's visit to Poland. Mazowiecki uses it very rarely. The recent outbreak of feeling over Kohl's planned trip to Gora Swietej have made it surprisingly clear that there are still wounds from the war that have not healed yet. However, the prime minister will broach the topic of reparations for Polish forced labor convicts. "This is an old problem that has not been solved. The Polish public is calling for its discussion. I cannot ignore that. Therefore, one has to face up to it and search for a way out," Mazowiecki points out.

It seems to be too early to talk about reconciliation if one bears in mind the results that opinion polls concerning the attitude of the Poles toward the Germans have revealed. Nearly 45 percent speak of "hostility" or "dislike." Mazowiecki leaves it open how far these opinion polls can be trusted. Currently, comprehensive new investigations are under way. The attitude of the two peoples toward each other is primarily a question of generations. Older people still have fresh memories of the war. The greeting of peace that the two heads of government will exchange during a Mass is intended as a gesture for these people. "The desire for closer relations with the FRG is very strong among the young." This was taken into consideration when agreeing on a youth exchange program, Mazowiecki stresses.

Skubiszewski, Austria's Mock End Talks, Comment

LD0811195789 Warsaw PAP in English
1421 GMT 8 Nov 89

[By PAP Correspondent Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Vienna, Nov. 8—Bidden farewell by Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock at the Schwechat Airport, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski ended today his four-day official visit to Austria.

During the visit he held talks with his Austrian counterpart, inaugurated together with him the debate of the first Polish-Austrian "round table", met with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, paid a courtesy visit to President Kurt Waldheim, acquainted himself with the functioning of the legislative bodies at the parliament and met with representatives of milieux of the Polish Austrians.

Before boarding the plane, Ministers Skubiszewski and Mock made short statements for PAP in which they assessed the talks they had held.

First of all, I would like to say that during this visit, in the persons of Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and his aides we hosted friends in Vienna, Minister Alois Mock said.

Minister Mock said that he was very interested in Minister Skubiszewski's analysis of pan-European situation as the two countries lie in the heart of the continent, and both Poland and Austria are particularly dependent on it.

The Austrian minister went on to say that now, Austria could better understand Poland's problems in implementing her political and economic reforms and expressed his country's readiness to support the Polish Government, whenever it would be desireable, in its efforts in the economic sphere.

We spoke about economic cooperation in tune with our Polish stand on the issue. Austria will give us general preferences in trade and some direct help. The point is not so much in granting assistance but in cooperation backed up by a major engagement of Austrian capital. There are certain interesting Austrian proposals concerning the participation of Austrian capital in projects in some regions of Poland, mainly in Western Pomerania, Skubiszewski said.

The Polish minister went on to say that apart from multi-lateral talks held in the Paris Club, Austria was also ready to start talks with Poland on the restructuring of Polish debt.

The review of international affairs which we held was for me, as a cabinet member, a very interesting and useful one. We are particularly interested in Austria's possible access to the European Economic Community in future, to all European communities, at least due to this fact that Poland lies in the same European region as Austria. Moreover, Poland wants to tighten her contacts with EC and every new membership to it, particularly a country which is so close to us in reasonable contacts as Austria, has for us a great significance, Skubiszewski said.

In conclusion, Skubiszewski said that he was very satisfied with the conducted talks and added that Poland would maintain close and regular contacts with Austria.

Planning Minister on Overcoming Economic Problems

LD0711175889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Interview with Minister Osiatynski, head of the Central Planning Office, by unidentified correspondent on 7 November; place not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Minister, you have been taking part in yet another meeting with voters. It is now 2 months since the cabinet of Premier Mazowiecki began working; you personally head the Central Planning Office. Would you please tell us your feelings after your time in office; also what are your hopes and what are your expectations for the future?

[Osiatynski] Well, in economic matters some important things are beginning to take place. During the first weeks we tried to get the support of public opinion for a differing policy, which is that one acts not administratively but with the help of economic instruments. Prices are being controlled through a restraint on the outflow of money—which, in the conditions reigning in Poland, very easily transfers itself to prices. This action is beginning to show some effect. However, these effects are short-term. Prices will continue to rise. But these are the first symptoms of this mechanism which is to lead, in the end, to a fall in the price-trend, but not to a stabilization of prices.

Again one must say in all honesty that if we wish there to be a market economy in this country we must remember that in countries which have a market economy—in Sweden, in Germany, in France, in Great Britain, in Spain—prices rise and there is an annual rise in prices in the order of 4-6 or 7 percent a year. This is in normal economies where there are no shortages and in economies which do not have to pay off large debts, which do not face huge restructuring. The Polish economy—and this is when we will have been successful with our program of stabilization, let us say in 3 years—will have to continue to pay off debts, for if at the moment we are rescheduling the repayment of debts then we are, after all, only rescheduling them. One day these debts will have to be paid of and restructuring will continue.

Therefore in an economy weighed down with such burdens, the rate of inflation will probably be two or three times higher. So we must learn to live with inflation which will be between 15 and 20 percent a year—and this after we have smothered the hyperinflation with which we live today. We see that some actions are being taken toward this end which seems to be rational.

Does this mean that the government does not intervene at all in economic matters? No, that's not true, it does intervene. Many prices are still being controlled in effect. If today we were to be completely free the price of coal we would have to raise it not by 100 percent but four-fold. Electricity prices would have to be increased sixfold. The same applies to gas and to other fuels in the public sector and that of housing. On the other hand, we are aware that these price movements could bring about a fall in the living standards of many groups of people. It is not just that we see this; we are trying to create some sort of safety net to ensure that living conditions do not worsen for those people who are today living in very difficult conditions.

Factory's Tank Production Problems Viewed

PM0111095489 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Oct 89 p 7

[Jan Dziadul article: "On the Tracks"]

[Text] During General Florian Siwicki's hearings before the Sejm National Defense Commission, Deputy Ryszard Jankowski made a statement of claim against the National Defense Ministry [MON]—a claim of a kind which until recently no one could even contemplate without fear: When is the Army finally going to pay us for the tanks? The ministerial candidate only shrugged his shoulders helplessly. The country's budget difficulties affect the condition of his sector too. Defense simply has no money...

Several days ago Deputy Jankowski, managing director of the Bumar-Labedy Engineering Equipment Combine in Gliwice warned me:

"You can put it down in writing that if the MON does not pay Z7 billion within a decent length of time, we are going to court. We cannot afford to be soft!"

Perhaps there was a time when they could afford to be soft. Until recently Bumar did very well out of its collaboration with the Army, but now the combine is having great difficulties—the greatest it has had since May 1981, when they produced the first four T-34 tanks here. It may sound paradoxical, but their problems came with detente. To be precise, they began the day after the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting late in 1987. "That took us aback: It was as though a big, luscious cake had suddenly fallen of the table," Deputy Sales Manager Kazimierz Zyla recalls. "Or, to put it more strongly, we feel like a stricken deer, bleeding badly from gunshot wounds..."

Obviously, as citizens, they are in favor of peace, disarmament, and turning tanks into razor blades, and they do not nurture the slightest hopes for some minor war somewhere. But the truth is that until now everyone (that is, the employees, the company, and the state) did very well indeed out of this armored business. Now the bubble has burst... Only someone very naive could insist that there is no problem, since instead of tanks they can always make agricultural or construction machinery, or indeed anything else the country may need. How can you change the company's production profile with no trouble if the combine was 95 percent dedicated to tank manufacture, if that is precisely what all the production lines, the vast majority of plant, and the advanced machinery are geared to? The introduction of a new product would take years.

"Apart from this," Director Jankowski says, "you do not need a computer to drive stakes into the ground. It would be a shame for this advanced plant to make just any old rubbish..."

The operation to which Bumar has to be subjected is in many respects very painful. On the one hand it is more than necessary to launch civilian production, and on the other the combine bears the burden of an obligation to maintain its full production capacities so that tank manufacture could be resumed at full speed at any time. People at Bumar-Labedy say that it is as if they were trying to marry fire and water here. Besides, they argue, what kind of disarmament is it if we are retaining the entire armament base facilities, just in case? Are we not trying to pull a fast one on somebody, to quote Lech Walesa's favorite saying?

Zdzislaw Kopczyk, deputy director, Engineering, maintains that they are not. Similar plants both in the East and in the West have also maintained their capability to resume production. This is an important element of defense policy. The situation and the demand can always change...

"We all applauded the elimination of medium-range missiles," says Zdzislaw Kopczyk, "but has anyone heard of a parallel dismantling of either American or Soviet missile production lines? No one has. This issue is not the subject of negotiations."

Z10 For a Batch of Grenades

I am being shown around Gliwice-based Bumar, one of the world's 22 tank factories, by Production Department Manager Jerzy Neumann, who has worked here since the first T-34. Only a few months ago this kind of tour would have been impossible. Everyone has always known perfectly well what the combine specialized in (in the era of spy satellites our secretiveness was simply laughable), but the principle which nevertheless prevailed is splendidly illustrated by a joke which could probably be traced back to the fifties: "Where do you work? one man asks another. "I cannot tell you, it is top secret." "And how much do you get?" "Z10 for each batch of grenades!"

When Jerzy Neumann first came here, you could not move from one department to another without a special pass. There were show trials in which people were given stiff sentences for just a chance mention of the name of the principal product. Roman Bulik, deputy director for economic matters, recalls a funny story in connection with the guarding of production secrets. During a trip to the West a Bumar employee bought a catalog advertising the T-55 tank, which was at the time made by the company. The secrets-preservation experts immediately classified this easily available and popular document as "Confidential." In any case, until not so long ago Bumar were officially known (to our public) as specialists in crane manufacture.

"You can see anything you like and ask almost anything you like," declares Director Jankowski. "Almost, because our production figures, manufacturing technology, and export figures for particular countries are still secret. On the other hand, it is no secret that Bumar sells tanks to almost anyone except NATO states and... the Soviet Union. The Russians make their own."

"Just like everyone else, we too keep our industrial secrets," Zdzislaw Kopczyk adds. "We have several interesting solutions, and competitors, particularly in this industry, do not let grass grow under their feet. As far as we are concerned, competition also includes our allies within the Warsaw Treaty. We compete against them in Third World markets."

For several years now Bumar has been manufacturing the T-72 tank which, in respect of its technical and battlefield parameters, is comparable to West Germany's Leopard (our own tank has been dubbed "Jaguar" for internal, factory use). We bought the licence in the USSR, but the manufacturing technology is entirely Polish. People at Bumar-Labedy say that the license owner has learned quite a few things from them, but they will not specify what these things are.

Being a good salesman, Director Bulik recommends his product: He assures us that the T-72 is comparable to West Germany's Leopard (though a direct comparison is impossible, since the T-72 is designed to different tactical specifications) but costs much less than its West German counterpart. Precisely how much it costs is still a secret. However, it is no secret to potential purchasers. For our own use I make the following calculation: If the Leopard is sold at about $2 million, then the "Jaguar," which "costs much less," could be priced at, say, $1.2-1.3 million.

It Was Fine While It Lasted, But Now It's Over

Until recently we did quite well out of tank manufacture: In 1986 we exported $234 million-worth of armored weapons, the year after that we made $170 million, last year $147 million but this year only $73 million. On top of that each year Bumar contributed R200 million to the state treasury. Over these years export contracts brought in $1 for each Z200-300. High earnings (in those years, they were the second highest in the country) guaranteed a stable workforce. A worker's average length of service was 18 years.

It was fine while it lasted, but now it is over. The combine is working at half-power, which upsets the employees who are, after all, highly skilled specialists. Although no large-scale workforce exodus has been noted, not many people want to come to work here any more. Young engineers in particular are giving Bumar-Labedy a wide berth. The drop in the the manufacture of tanks and the small export orders have resulted in a comparative drop in earnings.

"Even though we are in the lead in the armaments sector, says Director Bulik, "we are no longer competitive in the local labor market with our current average monthly pay of Z200,000 if we pay no profit-linked bonuses. Had we maintained tank production at earlier years' levels, average wages would be probably Z100,000 higher.

"We are making all kinds of trash now," scowls a worker as he machines a component for a coal loader on a massive machine tool.

The shop floors are empty. Although the several finished tanks look quite impressive, Mr Neumann waves his hand dismissively at them:

"There was a time when things were really happening here—you could not squeeze through between one tank and the next..."

At the moment the factory's interests do not coincide with the public's. Perhaps in a few years' time disarmament will also bring some profit for Bumar. It seems, however, that those employees of the combine who maintain that things could not be much worse are not quite right. It could have been much worse. They could have fallen from a much greater height. The deal which the authorities attempted to set up here in the late seventies could have killed the "bleeding deer" outright.

A famous book, entitled "Cysorz" ["The Emp'ror"] and brought out in the clandestine "alternative publishing network," whose chief protagonist is Zdzislaw Grudzien, the Silesian overlord of the seventies, contains an episode describing his plans for a gigantic expansion of Bumar for the manufacture of a new supertank. The then first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [Katowice] Voivodship Committee was already given to centrally-oriented aspirations and consequently had set out to woo the Soviet comrades in every way he could imagine. One of the deputy premiers of the Soviet Government, who was responsible for the armaments industry, was visiting Poland. After giving him a tour of Bumar-Labedy Zdzislaw Grudzien gave a reception for the delegation in the boardroom. To quote from the book, "In his toast he said something so extraordinary that all the attending representatives of our apparatus could only gape with utter incredulous astonishment.

"I drink, ah, this toast, in honor of our visitors, whom I would like to thank for coming here and for the positive, ah, agreements. Namely, comrades, to speak candidly and sincerely, right now our region faces an opportunity never to be repeated again. Our voivodship's most important investment project will no longer be the Katowice steelworks, or some other ongoing industrial, ah, investment project, but, ah, the manufacture of a supertank at Labedy."

This was in 1979!

The author, Stefan Szulecki (an alias), suggests that the siting of the project was Grudzien's own favorite brainchild, which he did his utmost to push through with the aim of winning popularity in Moscow. Presumably he believed that it would represent a good bargaining point in support of his objectives in Warsaw...

Director Ryszard Jankowski concedes that at the time a Soviet government delegation did indeed visit Labedy, but he himself, as then head of production, did not take part in the talks.

"I doubt, however, whether one man's aspirations could have carried any significant weight in that respect," he comments. "Decisions concerning production figures are taken at the level of the Joint Command... It was, admittedly, at that time that we started the production of our T-72, but there was no question of any massive investment at all... We have enough problems without that. Now we know that enterprises of this kind should not become involved to such a large extent in military production. They could devote perhaps 40 percent, or at the most 50 percent of their production profile to "armaments," and the balance should be civilian production. In the long term we shall be aiming for precisely this kind of ratio..."

The Bubble Has Burst

Apart from tanks, Labedy has for years been making mobile cranes. However, civilian production was at best marginal (5-7 percent) with respect to its military output. This is why disarmament has been such a shock for the combine. It is not only in Europe that the boom in tanks has fallen.

"On the one hand our orders had stopped, and on the other we kept getting deliveries of parts from our subcontractors," Zdzislaw Kopczyk recalls. "We began to drown in stocks. That cost us a great deal. We have cut back tank production but we are still supposed to keep up production capacities, maintain assembly lines, and pay the men... I am not sure whether this is an issue just for the enterprise alone or whether the defense sector should not be more interested in it. We are quietly hoping to get some budgetary help in this respect."

Previously the combine counted on the mining industry, but that proved to be a miscalculation. Last year they took over manufacture of coal loaders from one of the mining plant factories. They found the space for it and adapted some of the specialized equipment. The orders looked promising. Bumar assumed that they would be making 1,000 loaders a year (they could easily handle 2,000). Unfortunately, here too the bubble has burst...

"The mines are experiencing financial difficulties and they simply fail to collect the machines that they ordered," Director Jankowski complains. "The Army does collect the tanks, but does not pay for them because it has no money. The mining industry, on the other hand, does not even collect the machines because it has no money to pay us with... And so we keep going from the frying pan into the fire and back again. The customers do not pay us, we do not pay the subcontractors, who in their turn charge us high interest. This is how we, too, will settle with the Army. There is no other way out...."

At the moment a new product is undergoing trials: a digger on a Warynski license. Soon it is to become Labedy's second most important product after the tanks. The combine could also undertake the manufacture of large construction and agricultural machines, whose production technology is similar to that of tanks. It is a question of making the best use of everything that they have there and that they have to keep anyway. And so Bumar is awaiting some new licence documents.

"We could develop a new tank design," Director Kopczyk stresses, "and even, if need be, have a go at a purely Polish model, but the development of a new construction machine design, for instance, would present us with quite considerable problems. Apart from which, what is the point in breaking down an open door? This is why we are approaching civilian production very cautiously. Obviously, if pressed' we could try our hand at almost anything. We have excellent specialists and a machine plant that meets world standards, but—as I said before—you do not need a computer to drive stakes into the ground. Consequently, we are not yielding too easily to the civilian production fashion. We shall only take notice of and react to realistic economic calculation..."

Several tanks which have already been through field trials are now being subjected to final fine-tuning. Where will they end up? Iraq, Libya, Syria, Algeria... I can only guess. Their destination is a secret under the provisions of the contract. Besides, there is no point in making the work of the intelligence services of our customers' adversaries that much easier.

"I will not deny that until we have converted in sufficient degree to civilian production, we could do with a major export contract," Director Jankowski remarks. "The tank is of an advanced design, it costs less than the Leopard..."

"I am sorry, Director. But POLITYKA does not as yet advertise weapons."

"It is a commodity like any other. The country could do quite well out of it."

POLITYKA on Lessons of Thatcher's Britain

PM0111113489 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 21 Oct 89 p 16

[Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz article under the column "Polish Cuisine": "Learning From Maggie"]

[Text] Not long ago I heard the opinion that the situation in the country is so bad that, if we had a different government, the whole place would be rocked by strikes and there would be barricades standing in the streets everywhere. If this is true, we should give high praise to the government. Its work proves the rule which claims that "what you see depends on where you sit." No one says any more that strikes are really harmless for the economy; equally, everyone except Deputy Geremek has forgotten that television is to be controlled by parliament—not the government—as its exclusive instrument.

In any case, our present situation is characterized by a dramatic race against time. Either the mechanisms of economic recovery which are being implemented now will prove correct and will begin to work before the population's willingness to make even more sacrifices runs out, or we will all sink into total chaos from which it will be quite difficult to find a way out.

Of all the economic symptoms which make my blood run cold, it is not prices which worry me the most—price hikes to which an answer has been to print more and more "empty" money (here again we see the rule of "what you see depends on where you sit": The government made that decision while criticizing its predecessors for doing exactly the same.) What worries me most is the decline in production levels. This is largely because I have by now lost my bearings completely when it comes to prices, just as the majority of the general public have lost theirs. My wife tells me, aghast, that a pair of socks costs Z15,000, and a kilogram of meat some Z20,000, but I cannot possibly tell whether that is expensive or very cheap compared to what could still happen. On the other hand, when I read in official statistics that our combined industrial production is falling, I know for certain that nothing good can come of it and that if the trend is not reversed things can only grow worse.

Another symptom from which we can still, to a certain extent, take our bearings, is the dollar exchange rate.

For the last fortnight or so the dollar has been falling. Now it is climbing again. To tell the truth, it is not altogether certain what caused that temporary drop in the exchange rate. Some claim that it was the Zloty price hikes, as a result of which people simply do not have enough money to exchange for greenbacks and, in an opposite maneuver, have been getting rid of their hard currency savings in order to scrape through somehow. Personally I am inclined to doubt this hypothesis, since those who deal in dollars are not the same group of people who are slowly finding that they do not have enough money to pay the rent, electricity, gas, and train or streetcar season tickets to work. So I am rather inclined to believe that it was smart calculation on the part of private currency exchange bureau owners, and my belief is strengthened by the observation that during periods when the dollar is falling they only buy and when it climbs back up again they only sell. It appears that these exchange bureaus, which are really a substitute for a proper stock exchange, function quite happily as a flourishing speculation racket—and we have only ourselves to blame for allowing them to be set up. Having said that, I naturally also appreciate the role they play in the process of making the Zloty semi-convertible.

Recently, on a flight from Manchester to London, I spotted the following eye-catching headline in the DAILY MAIL: "Maggie (as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is affectionately known) Shows the Way to Polish 'Revolution'". From the article itself I learned that Poland "seeks the British expertise necessary to put a stop to 45 years of communist stagnation." In practical terms, the scheme is supposed to go like this: Mrs Thatcher has allocated 25 million pounds for the organization of a training program for Polish economists and managers designed to run for the next 5 years.

Well, the purpose of my mentioning the circumstances in which I read the article was not entirely to boast proud ownership of the airline ticket. Manchester, from which I was returning, is one of the rapidly growing number of places in Britain where unqualified trust in the "Iron Lady's" economic strategies is beginning to erode more and more rapidly. The sharp rise in unemployment which has already become a major social problem, combined with a consistently applied policy of tax concessions for private enterprise—in other words, further preferential treatment of the property-owning classes—are among the reasons, I was told by a certain conservative politician, and a "Sir" to boot, why more and more people who always used to vote Conservative "are beginning to wonder, for the first time in their lives, whether not to cast their votes in favor of the Labor Party."

Indeed, I do not know whether this is the best moment to learn for Maggie. Unless we learn wisely, that is, critically: Then we can even learn from the devil himself.

One fundamental lesson which economists can learn from Mrs Thatcher is that in order to stabilize the economy it is absolutely essential to curb and suppress the activity of the trade unions. The entire policy of "Thatcherism" which brought Great Britain a period of prosperity—by now a very shaky prosperity—began with the ruthless but eventually victorious war which Mrs Thatcher waged on the trade union movement, refusing to make even the slightest concessions during the miners' strike, the longshoremen's strike, the nurses' strike—her treatment of the latter, incidentally, being firmly associated with her attitude to the social welfare system and the national health service. It will be interesting to see how these lessons eventually bear fruit in Poland.

Of course, if Poland and the Polish people want to establish a relationship of not only words but, first and foremost, economic and civilizational dialogue with present-day Europe, they will have to learn a great number of fundamental techniques in the fields of economy, legislation, finance, and banking—which were totally neglected and forgotten here for over 40 years and which are strictly observed by the entire capitalist world. These techniques have to be learned everywhere, including Britain. For example, I was recently asked, in connection with my involvement with RAPID—an association of producers and distributors of video films in Poland—why the association was taking such a serious view of the question of "pirate videos" being circulated through video hire stores. After all, from the customer's viewpoint the most important thing was the availability of new films, regardless of whether they were "legal" or "illegal." On the face of it, such arguments in defense of viewers and also of "free access to culture" sound very convincing, but there is a very simple answer to explode these and similar reasonings: If we want to become part of the cultural and civilizational community of nations, which is what today's world is about, we must observe its laws and rules, whether we like it or not. Otherwise we will be dismissed as a place where it is not safe for citizens of the world to go without hanging on to their pocketbooks, for they are then sure to be robbed. "Our Entry to Europe," or "Dialogue With the World," are slogans which we are very keen to chant as often and as loudly as possible, but we often fail to understand that such membership of the world carries with it not only privileges but also certain obligations, and not all of those are pure pleasure. Naturally, all this holds true of much wider issues than films recorded on video cassettes.

To come back to the question of Britain, there is one thing that we must definitely learn from it—as a warning. I heard many people there voice their concern about the fact that, as a result of the government policy of neglecting all social welfare issues—in the wide sense of the term—there has ben a dangerous decline in Britain's share in technological and scientific progres, as well as in the field of invention, which is at present the prime mover as well as the major arena for competition in the sphere of civilizational development. From our viewpoint, of course, these things are relative. If only we could aspire to the standard which the British represent today! But they are not concerned about comparisons with us: They are concered about comparisons with their principal competitors on the continent, that is, Germany and France, as well as their main competititors in the world, that is, the United States. In all these countries outlays on scientific research, laboratories, and experiments, as well as funds offered to men of science and knowldge, are much higher than in Britain. People at British universities and research establishments talk of the "brain drain" effected primarily by the Americans who will buy anyone with outstanding qualifications, while the British economic community looks with mounting anxiety not only at the FRG, which is gradually taking over as Europe's leader in technology and progress, but also at France, where President Mitterrand's latest undetakings indicate with increasing clarity a striving to enhance the spheres of science and culture as well as technology, precisely in anticipation of a united Europe. The point is that, without such efforts on the part of other Western states, a united Europe would sooner or later turn German. Today the French are on the one hand setting up joint Franco-German military formations, but on the other they are not in the least happy about such prospects.

In Poland we have a new government which is struggling with monumental difficulties and at the same time sets out—often in an excessively demagogic way—to convince us that that everything bad in Poland has been inherited from the communists. As if those who voted for Solidarity in the last elections were all hard-working, clean-cut, and high-minded specimens, while those who cast their vote for the Polish United Workers Party were all good-for-nothing layabouts who were already drunk by midday, shied away from any work, and would always prefer to receive than to give. Unfortunately, the truth is different. If it were not, I am afraid that Solidarity would never have won the elections. It simply would not win the majority vote. The question of responsibility for the present condition of our country is an extremely complex issue which cannot be glossed over with propagandist slogans. But this tendency to sever all links with the past could have at least one positive aspect: It could include a severing of all links with the principle that when times are hard it is necessary, first and foremost, to take away from culture, science, learning, and knowledge. Here I would indeed recommend that we draw a very thick black line between the past and the future. If the experts that we send to Britain to learn from Mrs Thatcher are intelligent enough, they are sure to confirm that this is not the right way.

PZPR Spokesman Holds News Conference

LD0711014589 Warsaw PAP in English
2304 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 6—The 16th plenum adopted important decisions which will have influence on the party's future, said PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR], Central Committee Spokesman Jan Bisztyga commenting at a news conference here on Monday on the outcome of the plenary session. Bisztyga stressed that these decisions were being made in conditions of accelerated transformations in Europe and in a situation when the line of reforms in Poland is irreversible.

Since the 9th Congress the party has treated reforms of the political and economic system as the supreme goal of its policy, Bisztyga said. European processes, including processes embracing progressive, leftist forces, need a success of the Polish restructuring as well as the restructuring in all socialist states. The party perceives the historic significance of these phenomena and this process of which it is an initiator and co-architect. This is reflected in the course of the 16th plenum, he stressed.

The Hungarian experience shows that the failure to attach attention to the shaping of party unity in the process of discussion on its future finally results in its becoming weaker or even split. Therefore we now ponder how to use all natural differences in discussion in order to build the future in unity, Bisztyga said.

PZPR's Miller Discusses Party Unity

AU0811145089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 6 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary: In What Way?"—Article appeared originally in PUNKT WIDZENIA]

[Text] I consider it very important to publish in a separate publication all the stances and declarations that are appearing during the preparations for the 11th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Congress, and I thank the editors of TRYBUNA LUDU for this idea. I am convinced that not only this material, but PUNKT WIDZENIA [POINT OF VIEW] itself, will encounter growing interest on account of their informative and documentary value.

It is certain that every group of party aktivists that considers itself "independent" (why should they not?) will want to publish its own proposals in PUNKT WIDZENIA. This will make it much easier for them to establish contact with other groups that are preparing for the congress, and might even guarantee such contacts. If this succeeds, I would like us to make sure that there are no technical obstacles to PUNKT WIDZENIA's informative role. An efficient flow of information and proper conditions for holding debates will be very important for the election campaign, and we should do everything we can to make sure that every valuable suggestion is given broad publicity.

It is only with certain reservations that I can take advantage of the invitation to write in this publication, for which I am grateful. These reservations are caused by the fact that I have organizational duties brought on by my membership of the staff that is responsible for preparing the congress, and thus I consider myself more as an observer of the campaign than a participant. For this reason, I am neither a supporter or opponent of any of the political platforms, and have no intention of expressing my personal opinion about them until the Congress. In any case, I have had plenty of opportunities to speak publicly about party matters, so this in a certain sense releases me from the duty to make specific declarations here.

With these reservations, I will willingly present PUNKT WIDZENIA readers with a few remarks. Only a few, because it is a waste of time to present all of them. So that my own "point of view" should not be subject to any doubt, I hereby present it in a very clear and unequivocal, maybe even a little provocative, manner.

1. It is not true that the party was devoid of a program and had an urgent need for an attractive scenario for the future, nor is it true that such a scenario is a condition for the survival of the left wing in Poland. What is true is that the party has no credible and concrete way of implementing its rich programmatic thought, nor does it have the necessary instruments and resources. Therefore the most important question today is not what we want to achieve, but how we intend to achieve it. In fact, most of our disputes are not about whether or not we should be a party of the social left, but how we should act on behalf of the left under the new conditions.

2. Under a market economy, it is a very difficult task to implement the principles of justice and struggle for other left wing values, something that has not been tried before under such conditions. There are no ready recipes for this, and the experience of various political movements around the world are only partially applicable to Poland. As a political movement, we must realize that we are "doomed" to performing pioneering tasks and bandying about hypotheses, many of which will require practical verification later. That is also why we must build a party capable of planning and implementing not one strategy of action, but several, depending on how the situation develops. For this reason, tolerance toward various options, views, and searches should be an elementary rule within our ranks.

3. The divisions inside our party are largely superficial, because all the various organizational and programmatic party structures that are now appearing independently of each other are in many respects similar. Do any of the new platforms claim that an alliance and cooperation with the other platforms is out of the question? In my view, differences in opinion inside the party are no fiction, but neither are they an obsession. I consider these differences fascinating and energy-inspiring, and the possibility of contrasting all of them within one single organization is a major condition for creative thinking.

4. Inside the party and in party surroundings, debates, declarations, and programs have only a limited force of argument. One can see a division between, on the one hand, people who are capable of conducting and formulating them and who are very energetic in doing so, and on the other hand people who listen or read in silence and refrain from making any choice for the time being. Out of all the informal movements and structures that are presenting their declarations of intent today, I would provide my strongest support to those that produce the best premeditated program of action and the most feasible proposals of tasks for every single component part of the new party.

5. To the general question of what is in store for us after the 11th PZPR Congress, which is meant to be the end and the beginning, my reply is as follows: If as a result of a conscious transformation we preserve our organizational unity, many scenarios will be possible. If we do not, each of these scenarios will be uncertain. The conditions for this unity are an open question, to be resolved at the Congress.

[TRYBUNA LUDU footnote] The above article by Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, was published in issue No. 2 of the TRYBUNA LUDU weekly publication PUNKT WIDZENIA. Due to a technical fault, it was printed with indentations in the wrong place. The correct version of the article printed here will also be carried in the next issue of PUNKT WIDZENIA.

Politburo Discusses Plenum, Congress Preparations

LD0711202689 Warsaw PAP in English
1929 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 7—The PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau examined here today the course of the 16th plenum and conclusions resulting from adopted decisions.

Members of the Bureau positively assessed diversified views presented at the plenum, reflecting the party's political thought.

The Bureau discussed proposals of actions after the 16th plenum and decided to start practical preparations to the 11th Congress, including proposals and agenda of the debates, principles of electing supreme authorities.

The Political Bureau examined the socio-political situation in the country and moods in major social groups. It pointed to threats related to accumulation of difficulties the government and state administration meet in the approaching winter.

The Political Bureau expressed its anxiety over intensifying group pressures for removing voivodes and higher officials of local administration without rational motives.

PZPR Program Theses Submitted for Discussion

LD0911040989 Warsaw PAP in English 0016 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Central Committee plenary session submitted main points of a PUWP programmatic declaration to discussion before the party congress. Excerpts:

Poland has found herself at the break-through moment. The to-date methods of building socialism have not passed a test.

The sources of strength of the Polish United Workers' Party and possibilities of regaining social confidence have been running out. The time has come to build a new leftist party stemming from the tradition of the Polish socialist thought, from experiences and contemporary searches by reform-oriented trends within the PUWP.

We appreciate the achievements of People's Poland that cannot be undermined: The accomplishments of the postwar reconstruction, advancement of common people, ensuring peace and secure borders to Poland. We reject dogmas and erroneous practices. We condemn Stalinist crimes. We reject violence as the source and method of wielding power, dictatorship of the proletariat, undemocratic character of state institutions and their instrumental use in the service of the party. We put an end to primitively understood collectivism and disrespect for personal liberties and human rights, to the doctrine and practice of limited sovereignty in the name of misconceived internationalism. We regard as erronous the subordination of the economy to ideological dogmas. We firmly reject bureaucratic, inefficient forms of the organization and management of the economy.

Socialism cannot exist without social approval. Only the will of the nation, expressed in democratic, proportional elections, can be the source of power. We come out for a strong Polish state, for a parliamentary democracy and a multi-party system.

We come out in favour of a state in which power will be wielded by legislative, executive and judicial bodies, democratically established and submitted to social control. Their powers will be clearly determined alongside securing the particular role of the parliament. We come out in favour of a state which will guarantee political and ownership pluralism, the rule of law and civic liberties.

Restructing of the economic system is conditional on the reform of ownership relations. We come out for the equality of rights for all sectors. The competetive and complementary character of various forms of ownership should be the driving force of economic progress. We are advocates of development of the socialised sector, economically effective, free from red tape and centralist limitations. We consider sweeping transformations must take place in tune with law and under social control.

Recognising the need of development of the private sector whenever it can better satisfy social needs, we come out against forced privatisation as the only or main direction of changes in the system of ownership.

New economic mechanisms cannot be introduced only at the cost of employees of the socialised sector and lead to the emergence of politically privileged well-off elites surrounded by deepening privation and even poverty.

We will cooperate with union and self-management movements, with new groupings of the left which today are still separated from us by the barrier of blows and mistrust. Close to us are ecological and peace movements.

We reject democratic centralism which has turned out to be an obstacle for open search, grassroot initiatives and control over the internal life of the party.

We do not agree to:

—Permanent, structural unemployment,

—Making the quality of health care dependent on one's financial status,

—Differentiating of chances of young generation and promoting private educational system,

—Lack of social control over selling out national property, especially to old and new nomenklatura people,

—Making big money on profiteering.

End of Government Subsidies for PZPR Viewed

AU0811200589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Nov 89 p 3

[Maciej Lukasinski commentary: "Towards Normality—Paying Your Own Way"]

[Text] I think that last Friday we witnessed a historical event. A matter that had been troubling Polish society for some time now was openly and publicly discussed, namely: How much does the communist party cost the Poles? Ministers Hall and Dabrowski informed us of this stone-faced at the conference held by the government spokesperson. It happens that in 1989 the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] will cost us at least Z83 billion (subsidy from the state budget, tax concessions, financial credits at a nominal rate of interest). But this is not the end of the story. From the beginning of next year we will not have to contribute a single cent to it—that is, if we do not freely want to. The intention behind the government decision is the equality of all political parties under the law, and the intention that the communist party must at last become just one of the many other normally functioning organizations in Poland, like the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the new political parties.

What was the upshot of all this? Over the last weekend there were no disturbances on the streets, no arrests followed, no extremists were beaten up by the militia. Such are the times that we live in. Some 8 years ago when we had meekly attempted to peer into the pockets of some of the party celebrities, the press and the media were falling over themselves ringing alarm bells that Polish raison d'etat was about to be undermined.

Let us put history aside. Such an event deserves further comment.

To repeat then—Z83 billion! Is this little or a lot? Quite obviously, when compared to the full extent of the cost that the country has suffered during the last 45 years of uncontrolled communist rule, this sum appears as a mere drop in the ocean. On the other hand, nothing is likely to make more of an impact on society than concrete sums, which, to add insult to injury, were snatched from the pockets of a citizenry that was becoming more and more impoverished.

It may be worthwhile for our citizens to find out whether the figure of the PZPR subsidy that was given last Friday, also includes the traditional appendages of the PZPR, such as the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, the Polish Students Union, various womens' leagues, and countless pseudo-social organizations which all acted as a conveyor belt to drive the one true ideology into our minds. Additionally, there were the other facades and structures, all stillborn from the very outset, such as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, people's trade councils, various other foundations, and high commissions, and so on. Were they also—and it is almost certain that they were—funded from public funds by other channels?

One can formulate such question ad infinitum. We are not, however, interested in minute details. What is more important, is the fact that Polish citizens never knew—nor was it ever intended that they should find out—where the thin dividing line between communist party property and state property (or, property belonging to society, as we were repeatedly told) lay. The essence of totalitarian systems is also tied to this issue. The process of disengaging the communist party from the public purse—a communist party that up till now was its main beneficiary and sole manager—is one more clear signal spelling out the approaching demise of totalitarianism in our country.

I remain convinced that a breakthrough in this fundamental matter will give Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government more credibility—and will increase the margins of the very much needed social patience—than any other economic step which may be even more essential to our pockets.

The matter of public money is only one side of the equation. The other is the already mentioned matter of all property over which the ruling communist party had the power of distribution. The exercise of this power was seen in its most spectacular form during the well remembered "somber majesty" of the martial-law period, when the property of disobedient organizations, for example, the Writers Union, the Association of Polish Journalists, and above all, "Solidarity," was confiscated and distributed to other "obedient" and compliant beneficiaries (this is perhaps not a very apposite word to have used). Only the members of these formerly disobedient, but not totally defunct organizations who are now trying to resume legal activity know the enormity of the problems that are facing such organizations, especially so, as this matter is not just a straightforward problem of restoration (or division) of the confiscated property, because the matter has also assumed a political and psychological dimension. I believe that given the goodwill of all those concerned, some sensible solution can be eventually reached. The issue is, after all, quite straightforward, namely, the law was breached by one particular act and everyone knows what that act was.

Who today can possibly claim to be in a position enabling him to disentangle the legal (or illegal) grounds on which the PZPR amassed its wealth? As an example, we only have to look at the takeover and the subsequent management of the Workers Publishing Cooperative "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch." This organization will soon find itself subject to the same tax laws that apply to all other enterprises and will then proceed to fall apart before our very own eyes. Additionally, the decomposition of this monopolistic giant will deprive hundreds of journalists of a livelihood, as well as the many other workers who are employed in its various branches which will be liquidated. Of course all this will take place under the slogan of going over to market mechanisms, but this is not the essence of the matter here. The essence lies in the fact that this giant, subsidized in various ways by enormous injections of money, remaining beyond any real control—financial, or by society—spent our money in a wasteful and prodigal manner, building an empire for its administrative structure at the cost of editorial teams, various journals, and other publications.

The owner of this vast property is still the communist party and it will decide which title, or agenda, will be retained (obviously the profitable ones) and what will be finally axed. It is no secret that to date some 200 titles have been selected to be axed. Among them are such eminent publications as PROBLEMY, WIEDZA I ZYCIE, TWORCZOSC, DIALOG, and many more. The paradox lies in the fact that if these publications were outside the Workers Publishing Cooperative and not encumbered by the costs of a top heavy bureaucracy, they would not be unprofitable in themselves. The same can also be said for many printing factories that are part of the same giant. We have to help these condemned publications to attempt such an experiment of independence, give them a material base, and help them onto their feet. In what way and exactly how and under whose control this is to be done is problematic, especially since the Workers Publishing Cooperative is guarding the rights to its (is it really its and will it always be its?) property like Cerberus guarding the entrance to Hades. Why should the PZPR skim off the cream of the business of the Workers Publishing Cooperative? Why should it not be made to share this with others? This is the enormity of the problems that have to be resolved and which the government should have in its sights. Lets cross the t's and dot the i's. The process of transformations within the Workers Publishing Cooperative ought not take place without the knowledge and control of the state authorities.

The road to normality will not be easy, or short, but it is reassuring that there are an increasing number of signals—some more, some less spectacular—which confirm that we are actually proceeding on this road. The process that will ensure that political parties will have to pay their own way in the world is such emphatic confirmation. However, for the immediate future there will still be those who are equal and those who are more equal—Confederation for an Independent Poland pickets that are currently occupying various premises, please note. But, that is how it has to be if we do not all want to set about attacking one another, for historical justice must take place in stages. Otherwise, we may all end up seeing another October Revolution....

Miller Discusses Pluralism at Army Academy

AU0611143489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Nov 89 p 2

["emer."-signed report: "Leszek Miller at the Military Technical Academy"]

[Text] What future does the party have in the Armed Forces? Did the party make a fundamental mistake and miss the opportunity for reform provided by martial law? As three fairly clear programmatic tendencies exist today, should three parties not be created, parties that would form a leftist bloc?

These were just some of the questions that were put to Leszek Miller, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, during a meeting with commanders of the "Jaroslaw Dabrowski" Military Technical Academy on 3 November. Officers were interested, among other things, in making use of Hungarian experiences in reforming the party, relations between the Central Committee and the PZPR Deputies Club, and procedures for electing delegates to the congress.

L. Miller pointed out that the Central Committee currently has about 200 program platforms, 90 percent of which were prepared by party organizations and echelons. The three main currents are: first, a social democratic current that even rejects Marxism; second, a socialist current that rejects Leninism as providing the basis for Stalinism; and a Leninist current that draws on theses that have provided the basis for the functioning of a socialist system for years. It is significant that there is no woolly left-wing tendency or any fervently revolutionary trend.

The Central Committee secretary stressed: "It is not possible to talk about depoliticizing the state, because the state is political by its very nature. The problem is of a different kind: Should, for example, structures belonging to various parties exist in the Armed Force or not? However, even if these structures do not exist, this does not mean that there is an absence of opinion....

"Could a 'roundtable' have taken place in 1984-85? Did appropriate internal and external conditions for a 'roundtable' exist? However, there is no doubt that greater progress with economic reform could have been made at that time...."

L. Miller said: "The existence of several left-wing parties is not the best solution. I think that a single new party in which various currents can exist should be created, so that support can be sought under a common banner."

The Central Committee also indicated, among other things, that the situation in Poland will develop in an evolutionary manner and that this will depend to a large extent on the presence and role of the left-wing camp in the political arena. Quite simply, there must be a balance between "Solidarity" and the new party, and concepts should be viewed in terms that are broader than structures alone. If the left were to possess too little importance, then forces seeking a conflict could emerge on the other side. Thus, it is in the interest of the party to support the present authorities and in the interest of Lech Walesa to support the left. The point is that one monopoly should not be replaced by another monopoly....

Wiatr 'Progressive Thinking' Club Meeting

AU0811152589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Nov 89 p 2

[Jan Rutkowski report: "Slawomir Wiatr in Bielsko-Biala"]

[Text] The Club of Progressive Thinking of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Committee held its inaugural meeting in Bielsko-Biala on 4 November. The meeting was attended by Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary. Most of the questions from club members, expressing their doubts and concerns, were addressed to him.

"A party is an organized group of people who want something," said Jan Gieszkiewicz, one of the participants in the meeting. "And yet right now, we have ideological water on the brain. The devaluation of the whole of Marxism and Leninism has brought about the situation where everyone interprets socialism in a way that is most convenient for him."

There were sharp questions about the party's attitude toward reprivatization. Some people wondered whether it was appropriate for those PZPR members belonging to Premier Mazowiecki's cabinet to support this government policy.

Can the party's unity be maintained? Are we able to work out our own ideological platform before the Congress? Should the future party of the Polish left place its emphasis on the masses, or on cadres? Those were some of the questions that were asked. In reply, Slawomir Wiatr said that many of the party opinions he has expressed are his own personal views, which have not been compared with those of other party leaders because he has not been in the Central Committee very long.

"I think," said the Central Committee secretary, "that the reason why we are incapable of ideological debate is because we have never had to do this before. Every crisis used to be explained away by means of individual and group mistakes, each of which was condemned as a departure from the principles of Marxism and Leninism. We are still slaves to this way of thinking today."

Answering the question "How much should the new party reap from Marxism, and how much from Leninism," Slawomir Wiatr replied: "No ideology is so authoritative that it must always be blindly referred to like the Bible. The calls for privatization should not be viewed in ideological terms and condemned as a 'betrayal of socialism.' Instead, they should be viewed as a way of rescuing our economy from disintegration. Partial privatization should provide us with enough resources to restructure the outdated state economy, and thus prevent the pauperization of people employed in it. We exist as a party not for the sake of ourselves, but for the sake of society. If the Mazowiecki government fails, we will not profit by it. That is why I personally wish him success from the bottom of my heart."

A lot of time was devoted to the problem of the authenticity of the changes to the party. Marek Zieja, a member of the 8 July Movement, spoke about this with concern. He insisted that instead of constant "modernization," one should finally decide to "produce a genuinely new product." "Let us abandon unity in favor of an identity," said M. Zieja.

There were not many young people present this time. Most of the participants were party aktivists of the older and middle generations. It was noted with regret that because of this, the meeting lacked youthful fervor and energy. This raised several doubts in the minds of the participants. Andrzej Strzygocki, a teacher and former employee of the party apparatus, asked whether the idea of forming the Club of Progressive thinking had not been treated too formally, with the aim of catching up with other voivodships.

PZPR Stance on Information Policy Adopted

AU0711225889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Nov 89 p 4

["Stance" adopted by the PZPR Central Committee Information Policy Commission at its 3 November meeting in Warsaw]

[Text] The great political, economic, and social reforms in Poland, undertaken last fall on our party's initiative and cemented in a broad platform of national accord by the "roundtable," require a concentration of all social forces in order to solve the country's most important problems by evolutionary means. In our opinion, the performance of this task is not encouraged by the practice of sowing negative feelings by directing society's attention to the past. We are fully in favor of erasing the "blank spots" from Poland's earlier and most recent history. We have the right to know everything about ourselves. We are entitled to learn the whole truth about our past. Only on the truth can one build a new, democratic order in the country, and bring up the young generation to respect Poland, its past, and its major humanitarian and patriotic values. It is with this conviction that we support the expansion of historical journalism and writing, aimed at achieving an understanding of the difficult, often dramatic and painful, past; the exposure of documents that have been hidden from public opinion; and the revealing of all the circumstances behind national dramas. We will support such action by journalists and historians. At the same time, we will expect from them objectivity and an adherence to documented facts. We call on all writers to abandon cheap sensationalism, to refrain from arousing emotions, and to avoid trying to make facts fit preconceived ideas. We oppose writing that is designed to create an effect, or, what is worse, create new divisions among society and sow hostility, mistrust, and intolerance.

We believe we must transcend all differences in political opinion and unite the efforts of all Poles for the sake of solving the real problems of daily and life and the future. Poland is the most important thing, not party or parochial interests. What is required is an information and propaganda policy by all the forces that recognize this need to unite the Poles.

The PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] is consistently in favor of an openness of information, for without it democracy cannot develop. For this reason, the Commission opposes any attempt to restrict journalists', and therefore society's, access to information on all matters of state. One is disturbed by the increasing number of cases where information is exploited selectively and commented on in a biased way, which smacks of manipulation. At the same time, we believe that the political identity of press titles and journalists should be no obstacle to presenting the views and opinions of all the significant social forces in Poland. Polemics, and not just in the columns of the press, should reflect a genuine, not just a declared, pluralism of views, attitudes, and opinions.

We are in favor of high ethical and professional standards for journalists, and for greater professional integrity for the journalistic community. Poland needs a high level of prestige from this community. That is why we disagree with those who call for successive administrative purges to this community. Condemning journalists for their political opinions is nothing but a repetition of the evil practices of the past which our party has abandoned for good. The political intimidation of journalists and editors, motivated by a concern for an ethical purity and professionalism of the mass media, leads straight to a spread of "combat" moods among journalists and to a perpetuation of harmful divisions in the journalistic community.

The Commission also opposes attempts to take over press titles and publications issued by the Workers Publishing Cooperative. In Poland today, every citizen and organization has the right to establish and publish his or its own newspaper or periodical. He may freely compete for readers. Therefore, there is room in the press market for everyone, in accordance with the decisions of the "roundtable." The fact that 300 new titles have been registered this year is a practical expression of pluralism of politics and world outlook. However, we believe that participation in this market should be determined by force of arguments, not arguments of force; by the law, not by lawlessness. The exertion of pressure on editorial boards and attempts to divide them into factions does not encourage a good climate for the sake of national accord.

Accepting the path of the reform to Workers Publishing Cooperative publications, we stress at the same time the need to protect employees against the loss of their jobs.

The PZPR Central Committee Information Policy Commission asks all journalists and editorial teams who belong to the party, to actively support the 11th Congress preparations, and consider their profession to be a service for the nation. On this basis, journalism of the social left wing should, by means of its attitude and creative effort, encourage the process of reform in Poland, and, at the same time, forever protect the basic values of socialism which society has adopted.

Solidarity Seminar on Role of Trade Unions

LD0511054289 Warsaw PAP in English
2005 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Lublin, Nov. 4—Solidarity union activists from all over Poland and guests from abroad arrived for an international seminar in Laczna near here to discuss functions of trade unions.

Addressing the delegates, Senate Vice-Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski noted that unlike in highly developed countries where the role of trade unions is diminishing, the situation in this country rather resembles, in terms of organization or psychological climate, the late 19th century or the early 20th century in England when army and police broke up great workers' strikes.

"Therefore, Solidarity should first of all aim, basing on its own experience and that of trade unions elsewhere, at transforming organization of work and relations between people with a view to their rationalization and humanitarianism," Wielowieyski said.

"In our post-Communist conditions economic liberalism will not work. The Social-Democratic trend will be more fruitful. But managers of the Polish economy, raised in the old system, must have trade unions as a strong partner. Then they will remember about people and cooperate with people. A wise confrontation of these forces, a wise claiming pressure, based on a correct analysis of means and possibilities, will permit to overcome communist-feudal relations which still prevail in Poland," Wielowieyski argued.

Later in the debate, to last till November 10, the participants will also be addressed by top Solidarity activists, currently government and parliament members and by foreign guests.

Solidarity Candidate Elected Mayor of Lodz

LD0611211989 Warsaw PAP in English
1952 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 6—The premier has appointed Waldemar Bohdanowicz to the post of Lodz's president, after the city's people's council elected him in a secret ballot from among five candidates presented earlier by the head of the government.

Bohdanowicz, 48, a graduate of the Warsaw University has a M.A. in Geography. From 1980 till 1982 he was active in the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarnosc organization and under Martial Law he worked in the centre for assistance for those jailed and interned, operating at the Jesuit church in Lodz.

In June 1989 he was hired by the West German chemical concern Hoechst ag. He is member of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia and economic advisor to Solidarnosc of Individual Farmers.

Solidarity Presidium Discusses Trade Union Law

LD0711213989 Warsaw PAP in English
2140 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 7—The Presidium of the Solidarity National Executive Commission discussed here on Tuesday [7 November] draft amendments to the law on trade unions, with labour Minister Jacek Kuron taking part.

Also today, the Presidium upheld the decision by the chairman of the Solidarity Foreign Commission to close the union's Stockholm bureau on December 31 this year.

PRON National Council Decides To End Work

*LD0811170889 Warsaw PAP in English
1646 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8:—At its meeting here today the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) adopted a resolution which says in part that due to the fact that it was possible to achieve agreement on the wider plane than that offered by PRON, the National Council considered its role fulfilled and resolved to end its work.

The council also appealed to the organization's links and councils to reconsider the usefulness of their further activities and to take appropriate decisions.

Jaruzelski Letter Read at Last PRON Meeting

*LD0811231489 Warsaw PAP in English
1646 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8—Today's meeting should not be treated as a funeral ceremony as the ideas promoted by PRON continue to be topical, said participants in the last meeting of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth here today.

The council resolved to end its work, and set up a commission which will deal with solving PRON's staff and property issues.

The debates held in one of the representative chambers of the Polish Parliament were presided over by the organization's chairman Jan Dobraczynski.

During the meeting, minister of state Jozef Czyrek read out a letter from President Wojciech Jaruzelski addressed to members of PRON National Council.

The letter read in part: "Your effort in the great matters of national importance and in the everyday organic work resulted in respectable achievements: political, civic, moral and material ones, meeting the vital needs of society half way.

Poland still needs your work and your activeness. Undoubtedly you will find the best frames and forms for your future work. One has to seek them while keeping in mind that they should not be imposed but spontaneous and in line with the real needs and possibilities," Jaruzelski wrote.

The council also appealed to the organization's links and councils to reconsider the usefulness of their futher activity and to take appropriate decisions.

Claims of Security Service Attack on PPS-RD Denied

*LD0811234889 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] In our news studio we have the minister of interior affairs and press spokesman.

[Maj Garstka] On Sunday the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution [PPS-RD] publicly insinuated by maintaining in its statement quoted on the television news that the attack carried out on its venue sited in a private flat had been inspired by the Security Service. On Tuesday the appropriate prosecutor's office published the conclusions from its investigation to date, which deny this slander. Unfortunately, false and offensive information, deeply prejudicial to the sector and its officers and undermining confidence in them, has been circulating from Sunday until Tuesday.

I hereby declare that the Security Service and the Civic Militia are vigorously and unreservedly combatting, and shall continue to combat, any attempts to apply head-bashing or other gangster methods in political struggle, including such methods as were adopted by the attackers on the PPS-RD premises.

Also on Tuesday a statement by the Elblag Prosecutor's Office reported a mistake by witnesses presented by consellor Jacek Taylor, representative of the deceased Father Zych's family. It turns out that it was not Father Zych who was stopped by militiamen, but a completely different person, and furthermore, the event took place not on 10 July, as the two people making statements had initially maintained, but 2 days later, that is, after the priest's death. This inexplicable slip-up by a first-rate lawyer provided Jerzy Jachowicz from GAZETA WYBORCZA with an opportunity to formulate further, this time publicly, libels against the sector carried under the highly suggestive title "Trails Lead to Civic Militia." Well, the trails uncovered by Jachowicz yet again lead us astray.

People above all desire peace. I believe that restraining aggressiveness and condemning activities which weaken and paralyze the internal affairs sector will manifest the social self-preservation instinct, as well as state instinct. Officers dispirited by a lack of public acceptance, confidence, and support will not be able to defend us all effecitvely against the ever-more audacious and self-assured criminals.

UPP, Ministers Discuss Agricultural Situation

*LD0711222989 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 7 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 7—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party (UPP) and the Presidium of the UPP Sejm floor group today held a joint meeting with the participation of Vice-Premier and Farming Minister Czeslaw Janicki and Health and Social Welfare Minister Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz to assess the socio-economic situation in Poland with particular regard to farming and the food economy.

In the opinion of the UPP Central Committee Presidium, radical cuts in budget outlays for development of farming production and for agricultural production means as well as expected changes in the credit policy with regard to agriculture do not encourage farmers to increase production and will result in a further growth of the retail prices of food.

This will bring about a further deterioration of the already bad socio-political climate on the town-countryside line. Therefore, the government must urgently take decisive measures in order to prevent mounting threats to food production.

Both presidia stated that a failure to take decisive steps in this domain may have a negative effect on the food market and pose a threat to realization of the government's food programme. Such a situation would bring catastrophic economic and socio-political effects, the participants stressed.

That the government's ecoomic programme accords a marginal significance to farming and the food economy is proof that yet another government does not understand so important a sector of the national economy.

The presidia deemed it indispensable for the government to work out a programme of developing agriculture and feeding the nation.

Uchs Group Presents 'Political Draft Laws'

LD0611211489 Warsaw PAP in English
1941 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] WArsaw, Nov. 6—Representatives of the parliamentary floor group of the Uchs Christian Social Union held a press conference today to present a draft law on political parties elaborated by the union.

Deputy Stanislaw Rogowski stated: "Under the draft the only limitation on the program and functioning of a party is concordance with the legal order of the state. A party is set up under a resolution of its founding committee and the constitutional tribunal makes an entry in the register. The point forbidding the use of foreign sources of financing, introduced following long discussions, is controversial. It requires more detail. We do not envisage the financing of parties from the state budget, assuming, for instance, that the matter of convering the costs of an electoral campaign would be covered by the electoral law."

Addressing the press conference, secretary of the Uchs Caucus and Uchs Spokesman Krzsztof Bielecki presented a union statement on the amendment to the law on the obligations and rights of deputies proposed by the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group. At issue is the introduction of an entry on the right to create a caucus by a minimum of 25 deputies. This is said to be warranted by no-longer-valid party divisions within the Sejm. This is an attempt at stalling political diversification within the Sejm and the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club] itself, the statement reads. This strikes against pluralism in the Sejm, against small floor groups. This would be an attempt at withdrawing rights already gained, at curtailing the sovereignty of deputies, at cutting down their influence on parliament's devision—many of them would be left outside floor groups

Manescu Speech at RCP Enlarged Plenum

AU0211131289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Oct 89 p 2

[Report on Speech by Manea Manescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, at the enlarged plenary meeting of the Romanian Communist Party in Bucharest on 25 October]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, through its highly scientific and ideological level, makes a new and essential contribution to ensuring the progress of Romanian society and to clarifying the current problems of socialist development and of the international life of our times, while it enriches the thesaurus of the revolutionary thinking and practice.

The ideas, concepts, and guidelines included in the speech are part and parcel of the great sociopolitical work of our secretary general, a work that forms the basis for the Program-Directives and the Theses for our Communist Party's great forum that will be held in November.

The broad nationwide discussion of these documents represents the broad democratic forum in which all communists and all our people, in complete unity unanimously endorse the Resolution of the June Plenum of the Central Committee regarding the re-election at the 14th Congress of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of Socialist Romania, to the supreme position as secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

Esteemed comrades, the victory of the patriotic action of the 23 August 1944 revolution created proper conditions for the complete winning of the political and economic power and for the construction of socialism in Romania.

The historical congress in 1965 opened up a bright era of progress and civilization. In the period of more than 25 years that followed the Ninth Congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, making exemplary use of his longstanding political and organizational experience and of his creative ability to study and carry out research in the decisive areas of knowledge, carried out a titanic revolutionary activity, brilliantly leading our party, state, and people in the work of building the comprehensively developed society and of ensuring our homeland's progress toward communism.

It is our secretary general's great merit that he has demonstrated, during this quarter of a century, through his renewing thinking and with the vigor of scientific, theoretical, and practical arguments that the core of the huge work of building socialism is the revolutionary concept about the decisive political and social role of the unique party of the workers class, which is the vital core of our society.

The RCP unflinchingly follows the principles of scientific socialism, which are applied in a creative way to the specific conditions prevailing in our country, in accordance with the lessons of our national history and with the revolutionary experience of our heroic workers class and of the people's masses.

Further the speaker noted that the whole activity of our party and its political and ideological program of socioeconomic construction, as well as the activity of perfecting the socialist state, the workers revolutionary democracy and of ensuring the working people's participation in the management of the society are constructive proof of the manifestation of the revolutionary spirit in action, in the name of the ardent aspirations for progress, justice, and equity of the workers class and of the Romanian people.

The Communist Party, under the wise leadership of its secretary general, always firm and consistent in the implementation of the socialist ideals, has ensured the steady strengthening of the whole people's property and of the cooperative property, the solid foundation of the comprehensive uniform national plan, and has ensured the strong assertion of the new scientific-technical revolution, of the new agrarian revolution, of the efficient development of the forces and relations of production throughout the country, as a decisive factor of the society's progress and of social justice and equity.

The building of the new system in our country—an irreversible revolutionary process—has proved that developing the state and cooperative ownership, planning and scientifically distributing the national income, ensuring a high accumulation rate, continuously perfecting the economic mechanism of self-management and self-administration, basing the remuneration system on the socialist principles of work and life, organizing and modernizing the material production, of all activities, as major objectives of the RCP policy, are factors that boost our national wealth and improve our people's well-being. It is utopian to believe that the economic and social progress and the construction of socialism can be ensured without socialist ownership and plans.

Esteemed comrades, Romania has changed from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into a modern industrial-agrarian country, with a strong economic, scientific, and cultural potential and into a completely independent and sovereign country, which constitutes the great socialist establishment built in the new and glorious era of our history, the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

The eminent political and state leaders, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, who have always worked together with the people and for the people, are carrying out fruitful activity for the socioeconomic development of our country, for promoting science in all areas, for intensifying the political and ideological activity, for ensuring the patriotic and revolutionary education, achievements which are mainly reflected in the profound qualitative changes that have occurred within the ranks of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and our whole nation.

In Romanian society the right to work and the broad access to education, study, and culture has been ensured for all citizens of our country. Our society has also ensured the shaping of the new type of man with a thorough professional training and with a high level of knowledge and of material and cultural well-being—which reflect the true, fundamental human rights.

The new and brilliant programmatic document presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, which enriches in a creative way the revolutionary concept about the world and life with new conclusions deriving from the social practice and from the discoveries of science, and of human thinking, are an impetus for the researchers of political, social, and economic sciences to study with greater attention and responsibility the dynamics of socioeconomic development, in order to make a greater contribution to the understanding of the phenomena in our country as well as in other socialist countries, developing countries, and capitalist countries and to give a scientific answer to the complex problems that have been brought about by the great social changes in the world.

From profoundly revolutionary positions, the secretary general of our party gave fervent expression to the complete confidence in socialism—the bright future of mankind. The analysis included in the ample speech delivered by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reveals the truth that socialism has become a great international force, which demonstrates that this is the only way in which people can ensure their progress, free and independent development, and their well-being and happiness.

The speaker further referred to the fact that mankind is confronted with a number of phenomena and processes that are brought about by the existence of greedy imperialism on our planet.

There are scores of countries in which underdevelopment, exploitation, oppression, poverty, and hunger are prevailing. Capitalism, under its most aggressive form—imperialism—tries to dominate mankind on an economic and technological level. It uses blackmail, repression, financial loans, valutary speculations and interest rates, price-setting for raw material and technology, and protectionist measures as means of enslaving many peoples. Imperialism, by combining the propagation of reactionary ideology with political, economic, and financial means intends to impose counterrevolution and destabilization in socialist countries and in developing countries. The political and ideological subversion used with people who are building the system of social justice and equity and the intensification of anti-socialist and anti-communist actions are aimed at halting the revolutionary process in the capitalist world. Within this context, the speaker mentioned that under the current conditions, more than ever, the concerted action of communist, workers, and socialist parties and of all progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces and the actions of all peoples is needed in the joint struggle for social progress, disarmament, and peace and for building a better and more just world, an objective aim in the evolution of the current society.

An original dialectical scholar, with inexhaustible potential for study and research, a great expert of the Romanian realities and of the international life, and a firm promoter of the humanist revolutionary thinking, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has drawn the logical conclusion that history is on the side of socialism!

It is a bewildering and worrying fact that in some socialist countries, under the pressure of contradictions and the convulsions of socialism, an illusion emerges that the more or less radical reforms required by the circumstances would be the solution for the crisis and the problems of unemployment, inflation, and economic recovery. It is incomprehensible that, under conditions in which history has proved how damaging can be the concept of a "uniform model" in the process of socialist construction, responsible factors in those countries try to connect their hopes to another "uniform model," this time a model of capitalist origin.

It is against the laws of social development that in a country where the new system has been established, they should give up the principles of scientific socialism and of the revolutionary party of the workers class, which is the leading class in the socialist society and the decisive factor in the construction of socialism and communism. Promoting political, ideological, economic, and social pluralism and the "reprivatization" achieved through total or partial renunciation of socialist property, the installation of a "market economy" and of the so-called "free market," instead of planning, are the "weapons" that imperialism gathered in its "arsenal" of ideological, political, and economic destabilization of socialist countries—and not only in socialist countries.

The unrealistic attempts of some socialist countries to have capitalist countries and monopolies—particularly the supranational, industrial, and financial monopolies—contribute to the "economic recovery" of those countries are the type that cause serious damage to the development of forces and relations of production and prepare the ground for the return to forms of exploitation and for the reinstallation of capitalism.

It is clear to us that the revolutionary spirit—and not reformism—is the basic condition for overcoming all difficulties and ensuring the continuity of socioeconomic development.

Socialist countries cannot expect assistance from capitalists. Their material and human resources are strong. Romania's president often emphasized that it is an objective requirement to unite all efforts in order to perfect the activity within CEMA, with a view to making better use of the great economic potential of the countries that are members of this organization.

Life has proved the need for all socialist countries to work consistently in order to develop economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, under conditions of complete equality, mutual advantage, and the independence of each national economy.

At the same time, Romania and our president believe that a policy of active cooperation with developing countries should be continued. We wish to promote economic cooperation with all the countries of the world, on the basis of complete equality of rights and noninterference in domestic affairs.

The Romanian people are ensuring the resolute advance of their country toward a new and superior stage of many-sided development by working with self-denial to fulfill the plans for this year and for the whole 5-year plan period, under the mobilizing impetus of the provisions of the Program-Directive and the Theses for the 14th Congress.

In the last part of his speech, the speaker emphasized the fact that we have a strong party, with a rich revolutionary experience, headed by an eminent leader, experienced communists, and a heroical people, who build the new social system with patriotic devotion, defend the principles and achievements of socialism, and ensure the consolidation of Romania's sovereignty and independence!

Esteemed comrades, we are here in the hall of the Romanian Athenaeum, an establishment with rich cultural and patriotic traditions. Representative images from the epic of the history of the Romanian people are moving before our eyes. Our Communist Party emerged from the ardent ideals of social justice, unity, and national independence, and progress for which our forefathers fought with heroism, century after century, generation after generation, for the glory of our ancient homeland.

Successor to our great forefathers, bound body and soul to our ancient soil, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has merged his own life with the activity of the Romanian Communist Party—an integral part of our national history. A tribune of the revolution and a legendary personality who rose from among the ranks of our people and our workers class, the illustrious leader of our party and state, throughout years and decades, has guided Romania's impetuous road toward many-sided progress and socialist civilization, with the people and for the people.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, your ingenious thinking has opened up a bright period in the work and life of the Romanian people, has enriched the heritage of scientific socialism and universal culture, and has set a generous example of boundless confidence in the fulfillment of the golden dream of mankind—the all-conquering communism!

The great achievements obtained in our homeland, the fruitful creative work for the building of the new social system are incontestable proof of the legitimacy of socialism as a way of organizing society, which powerfully reflect the great force of the unity of our whole nation, under the leadership of its vital core, the Romanian Communist Party, headed by you, much beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great hero of the Socialist Romania.

Hungarian, German Councils' Cables to Ceausescu

AU0611095789

[Editorial report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 27 October carries on page 4 an 1,600-word "Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by the Plenary Meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of Hungarian Nationality" and an 1,200-word "Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by the Plenary Meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of German Nationality," both held in Bucharest on 26 October.

In its message, the Hungarian working people's council emphasizes that Nicolae Ceausescu's "re-election to the highest party position" is an assurance that "in the future, too, our party will ensure the unity, solidarity, and equality of all the sons of socialist Romania." After linking the Romanian people's "great successes" to the "prodigious activity" carried out by Nicolae Ceausescu and to the "decisive role" he is playing in "the application of the general truths of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in our country," and after expressing "boundless esteem and appreciation" to Elena Ceausescu for her contribution to the "vigorous assertion and constant progress of Romanian science, education, and culture," the message expresses "feelings of satisfaction" for the "smooth and balanced development of all counties where Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin are living and working." In the final part, the message stresses: "Let us defend by all means our homeland's independence and sovereignty by rejecting in a determined and dignified way any antisocialist, anti-Romanian, chauvinist, nationalist, irredentist signs" and by "not permitting anyone to interfere in the domestic affairs of our homeland."

The message by the German working people's council praises Nicolae Ceausescu's "theoretical and practical activity" and the "new spirit and dynamic and profoundly renewing trend he has instilled in our country's political, economic, and social activities." It describes Ceausescu as an "ingenious political thinker and excellent promoter of what is new" who has "firmly worked to put a halt to conservatism, cliches, and the concept of 'a unique model' in socialist construction." After praising Ceausescu's merits in "solving the nationality problem in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism" thus ensuring "full equality of rights for all our homeland's citizens," and after praising Elena Ceausescu's contribution to Romanian science and culture, and to Romania's prestige in the world, the message pledges that the working people of German origin will "work with determination and with communist, patriotic, and revolutionary responsibility to implement our party's and state's policy." In conclusion, the message emphasizes that "the participants in the plenary session firmly speak out for defending and promoting the principles of socialism, the only system able to ensure full equality among all people and the many-sided development of the human personality. The plenary session firmly rejects the attempts by some foreign reactionary circles aimed at slandering and denigrating the revolutionary achievements of socialism." It also stresses that the working people of German origin firmly reject "the anti-communist and antisocialist ideological offensive" and the "actions and attempts by reactionary, imperialist circles aimed at destabilizing the situation in the socialist countries," and that they will "rally even more closely around the RCP and you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" to ensure "Romania's firm advancement on the road to progress and civilization."

Attempt To Assassinate Priest Reported

AU0911094389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
8 Nov 89 p 1

["oky." report: "Assassination Attempt on Romanian Priest"]

[Text] Timisoara—An attempt on the life of Laszlo Tokes, a priest of the Reformed Church, has failed. Tokes, who had filed an appeal against a ruling by the Romanian authorities to transfer him to another village for disciplinary reasons, was to be informed about the decision concerning his appeal last Thursday [2 November]. Instead, four men forced their way into the church that night, in which he had sought refuge with his family, and stabbed him. Tokes was severely injured. In September one of Tokes' friends was murdered.

Winter Restrictions on Power Consumption

LD0911045989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0352 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Restrictions of electricity and hot water will again be introduced in Romania this winter.

The paper of the Sibiu District, where the first party secretary and the president of the National Council is Niku Ceausescu, the younger son of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, has published in the latest issue a decision under which flats will be heated six hours a day and hot water will be available three to five hours a day.

There are also a number of measures to cut down the consumption of electricity in factories and institutions. Factories faced with difficulties in the supply of raw materials are to work in two shifts instead of three.

Bars and discos will be open until 9 p.m. and sports clubs, which need warm gyms for their activities, will be closed until the spring. Local state administration organs and all shops, except groceries, will only work during the day.

Assembly Body on Diplomatic Relations With ROK

AU0811181689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The SFRY Assembly Foreign Policy Committee has pointed out that conditions have been created for Yugoslavia to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea. Here is a report by Milorad Denda:

During the debate, in which unanimous support was extended to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and South Korea, one could hear the conviction that this act will create even better conditions for cooperation between the two countries, primarily in the economic sphere, but also in other spheres. It was said that this will in no way change the Yugoslav view of favoring the peaceful unification of the two Koreas. The need to continue the comprehensive cooperation with the DPRK, particularly within the Nonaligned Movement, was also pointed out.

The delegates of the committee expect the Federal Executive Council to make the necessary decisions and take steps in order that relations can be established within the coming period of time.

This is a question of a logical act which has followed the trade and other contacts with Seoul during recent years, the first successful results in the economic cooperation, and both sides' interests in furthering this cooperation.

South Korea is one of the countries with the most dynamically developing economies in the world and a country which, in the process of internal democratization, has turned from anticommunist positions to establishing links with socialist countries, motivated by the need to search for new markets and spheres of cooperation.

In its reformist efforts, Yugoslavia can only profit from contacts with such a dynamic economy, and cooperation and the relieving of tension on the Korean peninsula can only create favorable conditions for solving this potential hotbed of crisis.

At the session of the SFRY Assembly Foreign Policy Committee, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, briefed the delegates on the content and results of his recent visits to Japan and the Soviet Union, as well as on the forthcoming Budapest meeting of foreign ministers of Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, which will be followed by a meeting of vice premiers of these countries. What is involved is initiating possibilities for subregional cooperation between four sides in economic and other spheres.

Presidency Discusses Interethnic Relations

LD0811184989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The worsening interethnic relations in our country are having a negative effect on the stability of relations within Yugoslavia and on its position and reputation in the world. The SFRY Presidency will therefore adopt a special program of activities aimed at developing and promoting these relations. This was stressed at today's session of the SFRY Presidency from which the following statement was issued:

"The session of the SFRY Presidency held on 8 November and presided over by president Dr Janez Drnovsek examined the state and problems of interethnic relations and activity from nationalistic positions, and sources which pose a danger to the constitutional order of the country. Taking part in the work of the session were the presidents of the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, and certain top officials from the organs of the federation.

The SFRY Presidency stated that interethnic relations are worsening and that this is having a negative effect on the stability of overall relations in the country and the country's position and reputation in the world. There was a unanimous view that such a situation in interethnic relations is against the real interests of all our nations and nationalities, and that through democratic and constructive talks, the problems should and can be resolved and the causes affecting their deterioration removed.

The general view was that instead of mutual recrimination and suspicion, activities should be directed toward seeking solutions—in a democratic manner and in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual trust—for overcoming the economic crisis by drastic changes in the economic system and eradicatiing inflation, solving the problems in Kosovo, the drafting and adoption of a new SFRY constitution, and other burning issues of our future development.

Proceeding from the assessment of all participants in the work of the session that far more attention should be devoted to the problems of the state and development of interethnic relations, the SFRY Presidency will adopt a special program of activities with the aim of the development and promotion of all relations in the interests of the country as a whole.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, informed the SFRY Presidency about his recent visits to Japan and the USSR, about the talks which he held there with the foreign ministers, and his top and high-level meetings in Tokyo and Moscow.

The federal secretary for foreign affairs also informed the SFRY Presidency about the preparations for and participation of Yugoslavia at the forthcoming meeting of foreign ministers and deputy premiers of Austria, Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia in Budapest in connection with the Hungarian-Italian initiative for the development of regional cooperation, confidence building, and security. The SFRY Presidency positively assessed the preparations carried out for this meeting and supported the proposed role of the Yugoslav delegation.

Further on Interethnic Relations

AU0811194389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The aggravation of interethnic relations has a negative impact on Yugoslavia's stability and its position and reputation in the world. Therefore, the SFRY Presidency will adopt a special program of activities on the development and improvement of these relations, it was pointed out at the session of the SFRY Presidency held today.

It is a unified view that such a situation with interethnic relations is contrary to the real interests of all our peoples and nationalities and that problems must be solved and causes for this aggravation must be removed in democratic and constructive talks. It is a general assessment that instead of issuing mutual accusations and suspicions, one must—in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual confidence—seek solutions for overcoming economic crisis in a democratic way by making energetic changes in the economic system and by curbing inflation, seek solutions for Kosovo problems, complete work on the new SFRY constitution, and solve other burning issues concerning further development.

Presidents of the republican and provincial presidencies and certain highest officials of the federal organs have taken part in the SFRY Presidency session.

Front, Trade Union Issue Program on Elections

AU0711183589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 89 p 5

[B. Oprijan-Ilic report: "A Louder Right to Vote"]

[Excerpts] Who will vote at the next assembly elections and how they will vote has been the subject of numerous discussions in the framework of the entire change to the sociopolitical system in the sense of its democratization. The obvious majority support for direct, general, and secret elections and elections with several candidates is an adequate response to the demands for radicalization in all areas of political life. Thus, the question of bringing it to life is closely linked to the tasks of the proponents and organizers of the future elections: the Socialist Alliance and the Trade Union Federation. In a program on political activity in preparations for and the implementation of assembly elections in 1990, these two bodies recently gave basic directives at the federal level which should ensure that the broadest wishes of the voters are consistently respected.

Who, then, will have the right to vote at the next elections? According to this document, this is a question of expanding the circle of entities that will be able to take part in nominating candidates: as well as the organizations of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the Trade Union, and meetings of working people, there are also agricultural workers and their delegations, workers with private, cooperative, and mixed property, and free professionals from culture, art, and other fields. The new element is that social organizations, citizens' associations, and new types of association and organization will take part in the nomination process. Considering that this right has been established on the widest basis, any group of citizens can use it, as well as, of course any type of citizens association. [passage omitted]

It is the duty of the Socialist Alliance of Working People to ensure that the constitutional orientations are realized completely at all stages of the electoral procedure, which implies that candidates will be given more time to explain their views and present their stands, and that the stage at which the voters directly take part will also be extended. The Socialist Alliance and the Trade Union are obliged to make it possible for the will of working people and citizens to be faithfully respected and for those who are nominated to be openly and objectively evaluated.

In the program of the political activity of the Federal Conference, it is the role of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and the Trade Union to ensure "that more than half the delegates in the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber" are workers from associated labor, employees in enterprises with all forms of ownership and social relations in line with the adopted ownership pluralism, as well as members of artistic professions. However, so that their number is not reduced to mere form, the composition, quality, and training of the cadres, and particularly their affinity with the authentic interests of the electoral grass roots is of great importance.

Within the framework of the electoral preparations, the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia obliges its Presidium to adopt, by the middle of November this year, a program of information-propaganda activity for the 1990 elections to the delegate assemblies. After the adoption of the law on the election and recall of delegates to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber (by the middle of November at the latest), the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia will at the end of next month adopt the regulations of the Federal Conference for the election of candidates to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber. [passage omitted]

'At Least Six Killed in Pristina Alone' 2 Nov

AU0811133989 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Nov 89 p 2

["Statement by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo: Strange Actions by State Security"]

[Text] The bloody violence in Kosovo continues. Considering the events from March this year onwards, this is unfortunately more than logical. Our committee has previously published long lists of cases of juridical, political, and police repression of the Albanians in the SFRY from 1975 until the present time. This year this systematic violence turned into a bloody settling of accounts, and in addition to arrests and isolations, the number of Albanians killed has increased. The trial of Azem Vlasi and his codefendants is merely a continuation of the precisely set plan, and considering that lives are being lost, this is a matter of policy which according to international legal norms may be termed a political crime. The responsibility for this policy is borne by its protagonists as well as by the SFRY Presidency collectively, and individually by those of the Presidency members who voted against the proposed stop of the proceedings against Vlasi.

For the modern world, the Nuremberg trial defined for ever the norms of personal responsibility and personal guilt of all those who either plan or carry out a political crime as part of their political practice. From this time on, such and similar political crimes have been individually dealt with according to these norms as they have occurred, because life in a modern democratic civilization is no longer possible without juridical sanctions of this kind.

In view of all this, it is not possible to release from personal responsibility those members of the SFRY Presidency who voted against the proposal to stop the proceedings. In the same way all the members of the Presidency will bear responsibility unless they again discuss the proposal and adopt it. There is no doubt that they will be called to account in the future, for calls for political heads to roll are now made in the SFRY for incomparably lesser sins committed yesterday. If not, the SFRY may at once say goodbye to its illusions of being a law-governed and civilized state.

Fresh evidence has become available in Slovenia regarding the activities of the State Security Service members (not employed by the State Security Service of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia). In the premises of a catering establishment in Litija a few days ago, ethnic Albanian S.R. was accosted by a person he did not know, who spoke in Albanian and offered to sell arms. S.R. expressed his interest in buying arms, but under the pretext that he had no foreign money on him, he postponed the transaction to the following day. On that day, the unknown man also offered to sell him some foreign currency. However, S.R. had reported the case to the Militia Station in Litija, so that a militiaman asked the unknown man who pretended to be an Albanian for his identity papers so that he could take down his personal details. When the militiaman wanted to take the unknown man to the militia station, the unknown man presented an identity card of the State Security Service. All the reports connected with this incident and a written statement by S.R. are kept in the files of our committee. Let us also add that the two State Security Service men recognized by former isolated person J. in Ljubljana a few days ago were most recently spending their nights at the Dob prison. There have thus been three members of the State Security Service identified by the Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs. It is a fact that the activities of such State Security Service serve several purposes and they include the collection of "evidence" against the Albanians who live and work in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and who are supposedly collecting arms for acts similar to those described in the official Kosovo report on the two Albanians killed in a Pristina cellar. (According to confirmed reports by members of our committee and the International Federation for Human Rights, at least six people were killed in Pristina alone on Thursday, 2 November.) Our committee considers the official statement null and void until it is confirmed by an impartial judicial commission on the basis of expert evidence.

We therefore demand a judicial inquiry into this case, particularly because it is more than eloquent that in such clashes the casualties have always been on the Albanian side only. These facts, in addition to the fact that there has been no independent inquiry in this connection, and the activities of the Kosovo State Security Service in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and topped up by the propaganda indoctrination about Albanian terrorists (for instance, in an article by D. Jankovic in Pristina JEDINSTVO, to which our committee drew the public's attention 2 weeks ago), all go to show that we have to deal with a "Reichstag Fire" [in 1933 in Berlin, for which the Nazis blamed the communists], which is to say something fabricated. Our conviction is strengthened by the fact that the Titova Mitrovica court prevented journalists and representatives of international humanitarian organizations and foreign diplomatic representatives from attending the trial, and a member of our committee and the president of the International Federation for Human Rights were threatened with death in Pristina because they witnessed the killing of six Albanians.

The committee wavered between discretion that would favor the investigations of the Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and its duty to protect, with its public warning, the people that could become victims of such an abuse of power and of provocations of this kind. The committee decided to do its duty.

Peter Bozic, Jasa L. Zlobec, Slavoj Zizek,

for the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo.

Demonstrations Attempted, Failed in Podujevo

AU0811213489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] This evening a group of Albanian nationalists and separatists tried again to organize demonstrations in Podujevo. Security organs did not allow this group of several dozen mostly young people to cause disturbances at the bus station, and dispersed them immediately.

Prosecutor's Office Rejects Azem Vlasi's Demands

LD0811210489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The provincial public prosecutor's office of Kosovo has rejected the demand of Azem Vlasi's defense lawyers for the disqualification of the provincial prosecutor at the trial in Titova Mitrovica.

The prosecutor's office, according to the provincial public prosecutor, Djordje Aksic, had adopted decisions rejecting the demands of the accused Azem Vlasi, Burhan Kavaja, and Murselj Naziri and their counsels for the disqualification of the district public prosecutor in Titova Mitrovica.

This, like the earlier demand of the counsel for the accused, was rejected as unfounded.

In connection with the demands of the accused Azem Vlasi that his case should be heard in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, or Slovenia, Djordje Aksic said that only the federal public prosecutor was competent to demand the delegation of another court outside the territory of Kosovo and the demand had to be made to the Federal Court.

The competent higher courts are shortly to discuss certain of the demands of the accused and their lawyers.

New Serbo-Croatian Magazine in Pristina

LD0611205289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Summary] Pristina, 6 Nov (TANJUG)—The first issue of a new magazine in Serbo-Croatian, PROSVETNA REC [Educational Word], was published today by the Jedinstvo newspaper publishing house in Pristina. It will be a monthly. The launching of an educational magazine in Kosovo in the Serbo-Croatian language constitutes a specific effort by the community to rectify the inequality in the cultural sphere that has existed in the province for the last few years, illustrated by the fact that SKENDIJA, a magazine in Albanian dealing with similar topics, has been issued for 17 years, whereas a magazine in Serbo-Croatian has only now been published.

Slovene LC Central Committee Plenum Meets

Ribicic Presents Program

AU0511214589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Oct 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on introductory speech by Ciril Ribicic at the 31st session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia in Ljubljana: "The Situation Demands Changes and Perhaps a Painful Turn"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Oct—Ciril Ribicic submitted the opening speech at the 31st session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. He presented the draft of a program document which will be adopted at the 11th Congress. The document will then be such that it will convincingly, without additional explanations, present the program directions of the League of Communists of Slovenia, Ribicic said and continued:

The Program Commission and the Presidium thought of the draft as a challenge and an incitement to a constructive discussion in which we will not try to "push the document through" with the fewest changes possible, but will complete it thoroughly, even in a structural sense, on the basis of radical criticism and alternative proposals which we expect. To set off such a discussion, I would only sum up some of the basic starting points and of the aims that we wish to achieve through the program document.

1. The program document tries to be a synthesis of the reform strivings that marked the 10th Congress and the activities of the League of Communists of Slovenia in the period following the congress, and that were given a special impetus particularly by the League of Communists of Slovenia Conference with its idea of democracy for socialism made to measure for man. We also try to take into account other positive traditions of our organization and movement ranging from the national liberation struggle through the clash with the Cominform, the introduction of self-management, the Brioni plenum [on 1 July 1966 that ousted Rankovic], and the reform of the federation, to the extent that they are applicable and up to the demands of the present time. We particularly try to bring to the fore the Cebine message [the founding meeting of the Slovene Communist Party was held at Cebine in 1937] according to which the supreme criterion for the Slovene Communists were freedom and interest of the Slovene people and of the people of Slovenia, and not the guild interest of their own organization, its leaderships or officials.

2. The condition of the deep economic and social crisis demand that changes, discontinuity, the necessity of a decisive changeover, and of a painful and demanding transition, linked above all with a rise in productivity and efficiency in the economy and society in general stand in the foreground of our program document. The program document therefore stands for an efficient economy and for a development friendly to man and nature. Even these most urgent tasks must be achieved in a democratic way and so that we will at least gradually approach the values and aims that are our lasting goal, and not depart from them. The loyalty to the positive traditions of our own organization is expressed in the document also when in addition to freedom, equality, justice, honesty,, and a humane healthy environment it also stresses values such as work, creativity, responsibility, and solidarity.

3. We have accepted the slogan, For a European Quality of Life, as a title, a motto, and a slogan as the synthesis of the draft program document because we believe that for Slovenia and for entire Yugoslavia this is a sufficiently great challenge and value which it is worth striving for. We strive for Europe here and now, for Europe in our country because we want to drop the internal domestic Yugoslav criteria for success and want to begin to live and work even in our country according to the most demanding European criteria. This does not

mean that the European achievements are idealized, because the Slovenes' experiences with Europe vary a great deal.

4. We want to put a discussion on the changes in program guidelines into the foreground. The very first working discussions have shown a great support for the new guidelines, but also considerable doubts whether the attractive program guidelines will remain a dead letter again. Some new guarantees, giving hope for more efficient implementation of the program guidelines, have been provided by the constitutional changes when they altered the position of the League of Communists, expanded the scope for political pluralism, facilitated political pluralism and a greater control by the public over the work of all political organizations, who will pay dearly at the elections for their irresponsible attitude to their own program guidelines. Another criterion that efficiently shows how seriously the League of Communists of Slovenia considers the new guidelines concerns the question to which extent our organization is willing and able to reform itself, to change its organization, and to renew its cadres in conformity with the changed social position, and to become a true alliance of social renewal, which will stimulate democratic social reforms. The sentence in the draft program document which says that democratic socialism is made to measure for the Slovenes and other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and that it may be an attractive prospect for the mankind, also shows that we are subjectively convinced that our program is not a symbol of the end of socialism but an encouragement to the development of its democratic variation.

5. At a news conference about the draft program document a few days ago, President Kucan expressed his hope that the document will be presented in its authentic form, without the subjective interpretations that are present in the Yugoslav media at the will of politicians. This hope has been frustrated again. In addition to some very proper and even sympathetic reports on the draft program document in many newspapers and magazines in Yugoslavia, especially in Croatia and Slovenia, in some places it has been attempted to include the draft program document in the well-known propaganda picture of Slovenia as a separatist and antirevolutionary country. The yellow star on a blue background seems to them to be clinching evidence for their monstrous accusations. Rather than to such vile insinuations, one should pay more attention to the discussions which warn that such deep changes are not urgent or that they should be more gradual.

One may also agree with the initial criticism in one other point, and that is the statement that to make the program document convincing it is important that we take our stand on the mistakes not only in the distant but also in the recent past. At the suggestion of a group of young Communists who work within the framework of the program commission, I spoke about this—which is to say about a critical assessment of our own activities in the seventies and the eighties—at the session of the this Central Committee in August this year. One should talk more about this before the congress and at it.

6. It is significant for the program document that in addition to classic issues, it opens a number of new ones, such as ecology, pluralism of ownership, political competition, checking the legitimacy at each election, the protection of the differences and equality of minorities of any kind, the question of women, recreation, and so forth. The following changes and emphasis seem to me to be particularly important in the various fields:

—The part on political democracy is characterized by the reaffirmation of the classic achievements of the bourgeois revolution and the role of the citizen in the political system. In this field, too, we support respect for the international standards in the implementation of human freedoms and rights, and we try to define the right to self-management with a new content.

—The part about political pluralism speaks about a multiparty system and associations without parties, and it also explains the slogan about the League of Communists stepping down from power, which means cooperation in the work of the authorities to the extent that the voters show their confidence in the League of Communists of Slovenia, its program, and its candidates;

—The part on interethnic relations in the federation defines federal Yugoslavia as our own, free, and voluntary choice, and we advocate respect for differences and are against the supremacy of politics over the economy as a condition for establishing a more modern and efficient federal state.

—In the part on the economy, we define the most urgent and most demanding task as being an efficient economy and a development friendly to man and nature, and it is significant that we propose the slogan that life with inflation is worse than a battle against inflation.

—The part on ecology proceeds from a very critical appraisal of the destruction of our natural and cultural heritage so far, which has endangered the environment to the extreme; it advocates the use of nonaggressive technologies, a low use of raw materials and energy, thrift, quality, knowledge, and competitiveness in the developed world, in short, an ecologically friendly production.

—The part on the political system advocates honest elections as a source of legitimacy for the state power and a more simple and overseeable structure of the state machinery, a law-governed state, and independence of courts.

—In the part on social policy, we advocate a different role of the individual, who takes over greater responsibility for himself and for his own position, and we advocate more selective social solidarity and greater aid to those who really need it.

—In the part on culture, we advocate polycentric and centripetal trends at the same time, we take a stand against extremist reforms, and we advocate an increase in the volume and quality of freely creative human activities and existence.

—We define sports and recreation as normal components of a healthy way of life, important for that quality of life that we have termed "European."

—In the part on education, we advocate public control and an efficient school system in which higher standards will apply, as they do in those education systems in the world that have succeeded in keeping pace with development.

—In the part on science, we advocate among other things a fund for basic research, which should be managed by an autonomous scientific community, and we advocate a balanced development of the humanities and of the social sciences as important factors of social and national self-awareness and of developmental self-consciousness.

—The part on differences advocates more numerous, and better quality participation of women in the political life and we pledge that at the elections next year, we will propose that at least 30 percent of the candidates be women.

—In the part on information, we strive for honest public speech and for such work of the national radio and television and of the central dailies that will be in the interest of society and will not be subordinated to any narrow interest.

— In the part on people's defense, we stress the importance of successful economic development and democratization even for the security of the SFRY, we renounce our special role in the Committees for All-People's Defense, and we advocate a development of the Yugoslav People's Army that will take into account equal rights and responsibilities of all the republics for its work.

—The part on the revaluation of our foreign policy advocates a reconciliation between nonalignment and openness toward Europe and the world and an active role within the new European Left.

—In the part on the League of Communists we advocate the protection of minorities within the League of Communists of Slovenia, which should become a more open lay alliance for social transformation, and we advocate the autonomy of the republic organizations within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

—The concluding part stresses that the program document will also serve as a basis for our appearance at the spring elections and that it opens up many challenges concerning the (dis)continuity of the communist and socialist movement in Slovenia, even regarding the organization structure and the name of our organization.

Discusses Draft LC Program

AU0511185489 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Oct 89 p 1

[Branko Soban report: "A Rather Realistic Answer to How To Get Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Oct—After a discussion that lasted almost a whole day today, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia submitted to the public discussion the draft of a program document for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, with the ambitious title, For a European Quality of Life. The communal League of Communists organizations will be sent the draft document together with a shorthand report on today's session and a reminder on which points of the document the differences were greatest.

Dr Ciril Ribicic, president of the Program Commission, stressed in his introduction today that the program document that will be adopted at the December Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia should speak for itself. It was thought of as a challenge and incitement to a constructive discussion in which "we will not try to 'push the document through' with the fewest changes possible, but will complete it thoroughly, even in a structural sense, on the basis of radical criticism and alternative proposals which we expect."

He was complemented by Milan Kucan who drew attention to the fact that the document is above all an attempt to respond to today's challenges that are getting increasingly less pleasant. The League of Communists of Slovenia should be confirmed as an alliance of people who advocate a social renewal, and it should be affirmed as an organization that is capable of taking over the role of one that guides the social reform. The discussion should be directed to questions of substance: what socialism and what Yugoslavia we want, what must be the opportunities for the development of man and the development of his creative abilities, and not least, what a world we want, for eventually our ambitions do not stop at the borders of Yugoslavia or even the borders of Europe, Kucan said.

The discussion in the Central Committee showed that the draft program document, which indeed introduces much freshness in the iron repertory of the past party documents, is truly a considerable challenge. The document as a whole has received considerable unconcealed praise. Thus one could hear among other things that it is a solid foundation for linking all the reform forces that are prepared to cooperate in the renewal of society. The document presents a realistic competition to all other views on the way out of the Yugoslav crisis. It offers a renewal that should not be kept for ourselves but should also be brought closer to other parts of Yugoslavia. With its content, the document makes even more precise the image of socialism made to measure for man, which was introduced by the Conference of the League of Communists of Slovenia. In the opinion of many people, the great merit of the document is that it sees a solution in greater democratization and the market.

Despite praise, there was some dissent, chiefly about the question of ownership, about the new content of self-management, and about what in fact the new European quality of life is, for this is a very extensive notion and Europe contains both Mrs Thatcher and Ceausescu.

Milan Kucan remarked in this connection that at present we are a part of Europe only geographically, and probably will not be economically for a long time to come. In addition, Europe now has place only for those who respect human rights. We must therefore bind ourselves to be able to be a part of Europe. This should be a kind of a mobilizing call. We, too can offer much to Europe, and this means self-management, which of course must be freed of all the present faults and delusions.

Kucan Describes Slovene Program to Weekly

LD0611155789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0012 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb 6 Nov (TANJUG) The proposed Slovene LC [League of Communists] program is not a classical, theoretically based, party program, but is the result of our assessment that in a situation in which the crisis has brought society to the lowest level we must legitimize, by our responses, how to find a way out of the economic, political, social and civilization-based crisis," Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC CC [Central Committee] Presidium, stresses in an extensive interview to the Zagreb weekly DANAS. On this, according to Kucan, it is possible to gain or lose the support of people in keeping with the orientation for "democratic socialism by democratic means," and the democratic means of obtaining or losing legitimacy are, according to Kucan, elections. [passage omitted]

Speaking in the extensive interview, which the editors entitled "Under a Yellow Star," and which was conducted by Jelena Lovric, Kucan also analyzes the recently proclaimed amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. "I believe that on the basis of the proclaimed amendments it is impossible to make an assessment that they are breaking up Yugoslavia or rather that they are the last step in the implementation of some Slovene ambition to leave Yugoslavia. No serious political people in Slovenia believe that we will make our way in the world alone. We know that our road is into Europe with Yugoslavia or we do not have that road," Kucan stated.

Replying to a question on "disagreements" over the role of the Army, Kucan says in the interview: "We have always believed that the Army is ours as well. In any case, we have no other. Of course this is not sufficient. The question is what it too thinks about this. If this is recognized on both sides—and I believe it is—then we too have the right to say what we think about the Army. Is all this acceptable or not is another question, but we have never insisted that in the Army as well as in the country absolutely everything is as we would like it. But it is not good to flee from conception-based lines of argument with the assertion that all these things are attacks on the Army, and when they come from Slovenia it is as if there is no obligation to argue about them."

In connection with the proposal to pardon Azem Vlasi, Kucan quotes, among others, Jazez Kocijanicic that this would be the best solution if "this trial in many dimensions could grow into a political trial."

The right solution is certainly an objective, independent judgment and the establishment of guilt or the lack of it in a court, Kucan adds. After all the greatest liberation from guilt is the one announced by the court. I know it is much more difficult to discuss the pardoning in this way in a divided atmosphere and in an environment which has a different notion about all this. Thus the assertion seems rational to me that the judicial authorities in Serbia, where the charges have been brought, are responsible for the course of the trial and for bringing it to an end [and here they are responsible] not only to the nations and nationalities of Serbia but also to all the peoples of Yugoslavia, and, I would say, also to the international democratic public as a whole. I do not see any reason for there to be any doubt about this in advance. Just as there is no doubt either that this trial will now be much more closely observed by the democratic public in Serbia, Yugoslavia and the world," Kucan said, among other things in the interview to the weekly DANAS.

Slovene SAWP Discusses Kosovo Situation

LD0711192889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—The meeting which the committee of the Association of the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo wants to organize in Ljubljana on 1 December would give rise to fresh conflicts and help further exacerbate the situation and interethnic intolerance. This was stressed at the session of the executive committee of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] during the discussion on some topical sociopolitical issues tied up with the situation in Kosovo. In addition, it is quite certain that such a meeting would neither contribute to an efficient removal of the causes and consequences of the current situation, including the situation in Kosovo, nor would it contribute to the improvement of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia. It is difficult to understand and it is difficult to justify this degree of persistence to organize the meeting in Ljubljana, especially since the date is 1 December, a date which is historically controversial in view of what it has brought to the Yugoslav peoples.

According to Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, the Slovene SAWP is resolutely against the meeting. It is against the export of the meetings with everything which is implicit in them and with what is tried to be attained in Yugoslavia under this form of settling our relations. From that point of view alone, the letter by the committee can be treated as a pure provocation, bearing in mind the well known stance of the Slovene SAWP regarding this matter.

The news arriving from Kosovo confirm our conviction that the policy currently pursued in that province does not lead to a conciliation of interethnic relations. This is not a policy likely to result in the elimination of anti-Serb, anti-Montenegrin and anti-Albanian sentiments, or of anti-Slovene sentiments either.

Reciprocal respect, vital links, and trust among the inhabitants of Kosovo which are so important for Kosovo, cannot be attained only with tear-gas and other repressive measures, stressed Semolic. Nor can it be reached with the logic which on the one hand is trying to prove that Kosovo is not only a Serb, but a Yugoslav problem as well, while on the other hand it does not allow other republics to express their views on the ways and means of resolving the Kosovo drama. If these perceptions differ from the views and assessments of the Serb political leadership they are immediately labelled with the assessment of amounting to counterrevolutionary conduct and support for separatism and irredentists. It is obvious that some people want to have all the rights, whereas the others are only allowed responsibility for life in Kosovo, said Semolic.

Semolic stressed that even if results alone are used to assess the validity of a policy applied to Kosovo then one has to state that unfortunately the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins as well as Albanians continues.

In the view of some people the attitude to Kosovo can be expressed only by supporting the policy pursued in Kosovo today and by sending militia units to that province. Slovenia is also taking part in the dispatch of militiamen. To all intents and purposes we are lending our support to a wrong policy pursued in the province which makes little effort to resolve the accumulated problems by peaceful means and which blames others for the setbacks, starting with our republic, stressed Semolic.

It is clear that our militiamen must be paid tribute for the duties they have been carrying out in Kosovo. It was not easy to wear a militiaman's uniform in March this year, nor a few days ago. We know that 50 Slovene militiamen left for Kosovo a few days ago. This is a lower number of militiamen than compared with the number from other republics. We are also aware that this is the result of giving life to federal jurisdiction involving both the federal presidency and the federal executive council in the person of the federal secretary of internal affairs because in our republic there is provision and there is no Slovene law either providing for an order to be given to a militiaman from Slovenia to go to another republic, said Dusan Semolic. [passage omitted] This is why I am proposing, stressed Semolic, that we should ask the Slovene Executive Council to do all it can within the framework of the existing legal set-up to stop militiamen from being sent to that province; there is no longer any need for doing that, said Semolic.

According to Viktor Zakelj, Yugoslavia is again at a historic crossroads because some forces in Yugoslavia have decided to keep bringing up confrontation. He said Kosovo's history is a history of confrontation, where periods of violence keep reemerging, but it is a fact that confrontation has failed to resolve Kosovo's problems; on the contrary on every occasion it has made the situation worse.

Zakelj suggested that confrontation should be replaced with cooperation and collaboration. The concept of confrontation, which in Europe has become obsolete, has divided Yugoslavia. A section of the Yugoslav public believes that other ways of resolving problems in Kosovo must be devised because it is a sure thing that 2 years of policy of meeting-mongering have only deepened differences while resolving nothing.

According to Darja Lavtizar-Bebler negative reverberations can be expected from a section of Yugoslav public about today's session and as a result of proposals made today. Therefore many things have to be further explained. What Lazar Mojsov told the delegates of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly has proven to be inaccurate; it follows therefore that the delegates were misled. [passage omitted]

June Steh made the evaluation that repression cannot resolve the problems in Kosovo. It only sows hatred and deepens ethnic contradictions. Bostjan Zgonc said that the Solevic committee initiative to export antibureaucrattic revolution is insulting to Slovenes. Joze Hartman said that is is not only Kosovo which is a powder-keg; the whole of Yugoslavia has become so because violence has been introduced into our relations as a way of resolving problems. Violence is an uncacceptable method of reciprocal communications. According to Joze Korinsek the proposed meeting is in fact a psychological preparation for another anti-Slovene meeting—the purpose of which will be to defend a policy sustained in power through repression.

Kucan Speaks at Festival on Political Allies

AU0611200189 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 89 p 3

[D. Draskovic report: "In Search of Allies"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 22 Oct—Opening the largest theater festival in Slovenia, "Borstnik Encounters," Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, stressed that the recent constitutional changes had not permanently resolved anything and that it would be very shortsighted to think that the main worry had passed. These changes were necessary 200 years after the French revolution and it is virtually unbelievable that they pose a problem to anyone. In fact, stressed Kucan, these changes have once again been imposed on the main concern, and that means: responsibility for one's own and the common Yugoslav destiny, sovereignty, culture, and work.

There Is No Other Yugoslavia

The changes have confirmed the principle that no one has the right to make decisions about this community, bypassing the community itself, and that no one within it has the right to make decisions on the destiny of a certain people, bypassing that people, and not in the name of some original Yugoslav sovereignty. Therefore, it has been affirmed that federative Yugoslavia emerged so that every people in their common struggle for national liberation first of all won the right to make sovereign decisions about their destiny and to come to agreement with others on the basis of these decisions on living in a common state and not so that, because of the nature of their joint creation, any sovereign right or responsibility is denied.

One should in this respect, stressed Kucan, definitely bear in mind conscious assent and that measure of solidarity and responsibility that is required by joint existence, constructed on the principle: Your right is the boundary of my right.

Kucan then stressed that from historical starting points, the future Yugoslavia is perceived as resting on democracy. In these perceptions, there is no other Yugoslavia; there is no place for a Yugoslavia which would not be democratic and would not provide its citizens and peoples with equality and which would be condemned to a life in spiritual, political, and material poverty. In such a community, no one can be assured the affiliation and loyalty of Slovenia and it would not be possible to justify such a Yugoslavia.

Democracy cannot be developed in only one part of the state, continued Kucan, but it needs to start somewhere. "Therefore it is no sign of courage whatsoever to speak about Slovenia's secession. Real courage requires the advocacy of the democratization of the whole of social life and political life in Slovenia and the whole of Yugoslavia, particularly in the search for, and establishment, of alliances with democratic forces among all our peoples and nationalities, regardless of the fact that these forces are now shattered and weak." [passage omitted]

Micunovic Resignation Caused 'New Divisions'

AU0711150889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 89 p 7

[Dragoljub Milanovic commentary reprinted from Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES: "Crocodile Tears of Coalition"—date not given]

[Text] It has been a long time since so many words of praise and great words have been bestowed from the rostrum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on a member of the country's highest party organ, as in the case of Vukasin Micunovic at the session of this Central Committee held the day before yesterday. It is interesting that all these eulogies came from Communists from other parts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and not from Micunovic's own party organization, the Montenegrin League of Communists. Vukasin Micunovic received almost all these compliments and flattering words from the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from the northwestern parts of the country....

Thus, the "unprincipled coalition" saw off one member (of its own) from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia weeping crocodile tears, showing that it does not care much for the integrity of Micunovic's personality but cares much more for the opportunity to shoot new poisonous arrows from behind his back at the community and part of the League of Communists which he represents in the Central Committee.

Regarding Vukasin Micunovic, with all respect for his long years of revolutionary work, which was in no way called into question either at the plenum or before it, one cannot ignore the fact that at the end of his political activities he had voted for the Slovene amendments at the previous plenum. Did all these compliments and great words not come from the northwest precisely because of the fact that Micunovic had crowned his many decades of revolutionary work in such a way? Was this not the reason for so many crocodile tears of a now increasingly impotent and nervous coalition which will in no way get out of the long-term habit of organizing other people's lives and always being in the right?

If the previous plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is therefore remembered according to who voted and how—for Yugoslavia or against, in which Milan Pancevski has the most important role—the last plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will perhaps be remembered the most for the fact that the resignation by one of its members was the cause of new divisions in the highest party organ in Yugoslavia.

Vukasin Micunovic did not put an end to these new divisions (despite the fact that he unassumingly raised his hand several times to speak) and he himself thereby refuted the claim that he is an integrative personality in this Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in the movement....

Slovene Christian Democrats Form Political Group

LD0511051189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The organization of the Slovene Christian Democrats has announced that the decision has been made to transform the movement into a political organization called "The Slovene Christian Democrats." Their statement announces that the founding assembly of the "Young Christian Democrats" will be held next Tuesday.

Considering the situation in Kosovo, the chief committee of the Yugoslav Alliance in Ljubljana voiced its "appeal to reason" today. "We cannot approve of rallies since, in our opinion, such a way of protesting leads to nowhere," it is stated in the appeal. The Yugoslav

Alliance is "particularly embittered by the announcement that the political coordination body of the notorious meeting in the Cankar Hall is preparing a new meeting devoted to the events in Kosovo." The Alliance is sharply protesting this action, believing that "such a meeting would amount to further deterioration in relations within the Yugoslav Federation and the destabilization of the Federation."

Slovene Peasants Alliance To Run in Elections

AU0611115789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Oct 89 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Peasants Alliance To Stand at Elections"]

[Text] Ljubljana—The Slovene Peasants Alliance will stand at elections next year, the Executive Committee of this organization has decided. The same alliance is also getting enthusiastic about the idea of the opposition running together at the elections. The peasants also support further talks with the so-called official powers, believing that only dialogue can lead to real democratic changes in society.

Slovene Democratic Alliance Proposes Name Changes

AU0611213589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 89 p 3

["D.D" report: "To Rechristen 'Communist' Names"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Oct—The latest edition of the Domzal communal monthly carries a proposal by Anton Tomazic, president of the committee of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, on the renaming of some streets. Tomazic claims that this alliance's committee is proposing that the names be changed of all those streets "which have names that have been a consequence of the ideological monopoly of the Communist party, that is the League of Communists, in the last few decades."

In the committee's opinion, this would involve a symbolic act which would "free the citizens from the involuntary reproduction of the names of people who personify an undemocratic policy based on Bolshevik principles which has now experienced its final historical defeat in all social areas and in all states of the world, apart from in those place where it is still protected by tanks and guns.

It is stated that under conditions of a political monopoly, politicians throughout the country gave names in this way to Dzemal Bijedic streets, Veljko Vlahovic schools, and Edvard Kardelj faculties. The text states that these are names of their deceased colleagues. In establishing these invisible but definitely socially existing monuments, their main motive was the narcissistic idea that one day some street, local community, or at least a primary school would be named after them.

Slovene Youth Advertisement Carried in DELO

AU0711182989

[Editorial report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 2 November on page 6 carries a half-page advertisement for the congress of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia in Portoroz from 3 to 5 November.

The advertisement contains the following text:

"We are fed up with senseless disputes and barren battles, which have not led us anywhere in the past few years. We have had enough of a system in which people cannot express their convictions freely.

"We have had enough of encitements and national intolerance; we want a democratic state in which every person within a people will be first an individual and citizen who, according to his own mind and conscience, will decide in favor of supporting one idea and policy or another, or will refuse to declare himself politically if he is so inclined.

"We are fed up with doing things that are important for History. It is time to do something of importance to us here and now."

This text is displayed in the left half of the advertisement like a coded message, in groups of three letters arranged in six squares, without any punctuation or spaces between words, so that it is very difficult to read. A bold caption declares: "Monolithism Is Anarchy." The bottom two lines are the slogan "For the Freedom of the Thinking World" and "Portoroz, 3-5 November 1989."

The slogan "For the Freedom of the Thinking World," or in Slovene, "Za Svobodo Mislecega Sveta," is an imaginative expansion of ZSMS, the Slovene abbreviation for the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, or Zveza Socialisticne Mladine Slovenije.

On the right half of the advertisement, the text is displayed conventionally, so that it is easy to read. The bold caption declares: "Variety Is Order." The bottom two lines are the same as on the left side.

Croat Democratic Alliance Formed in Zagreb

LD0511052789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1946 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Zagreb, November 4 (TANJUG)—A political organization, the Croatian Democratic Alliance, was founded in Zagreb, capital of the second largest Yugoslav republic of Croatia, today.

It is the fourth independent political organization to have been formed in Croatia of recently. It is, however, the only one which has been legalized, since it has agreed to work within the Socialist Alliance, whose collective members are all socio-political organizations in the country.

The Croatian Socialist Alliance was joined by 225 members at the founding assembly today. Dr Vladimir Veselica was elected president of the new political organization.

The Croatian Democratic Alliance has been founded by the dissatisfied members of the group which had raised the initiative for the founding of the Croatian Democratic Community of Dr Franjo Tudjman, a general and a historian who has served a prison sentence for nationalistic activities in the early seventies.

The Croatian Democratic Alliance, as set out at the founding assembly today, calls for a democratic society. Its programme, as underscored, is not chauvinistic, as the organization does not intend to rally only Croats but all who accept its platform.

Croat SAWP Denies Albanian Separatism Support

LD0711191889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Croat Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference vehemently rejects all accusations linking the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia with the latest fomentation of interethnic conflicts in Kosovo as well as the allegations that it supports Albanian separatism. This was stressed today during a debate on the latest events in the country and the continued interethnic divisions in Yugoslavia in light of increasingly frequent criticism of the Croat leadership.

Demonstrations which cause tensions and foment hatred among various nationalities are not acceptable regardless of whether they happen in Kosovo, the SR of Croatia, or in any other part of the SFRY. This also refers to protests organized in connection with the trial of Azem Vlasi and others. The Presidium condemns all demonstrations from nationalist positions regardless of where they take place, including those from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism because they all disrupt interethnic relations, hamper the building of confidence among the nations and nationalities, and undermine the country's foundations. Violent behavior by those who take part in the demonstrations is unacceptable as are, in the Presidium's view, attempts to equate efforts to explain the current deterioration in the political situation in Kosovo and concern at the state of interethnic relations with support for separatism.

Neither should the desire of the majority members of Albanian nationality in Kosovo to tackle current problems of Kosovo and the SFRY in cooperation with other nations and nationalities be equated with hostile activities. Since the SFRY Presidency has refused amnesty to Vlasi and those accused with him, it is now necessary to ensure that the trial is open to the public and the media.

The Presidium of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference joins the calls for changing those sections of the SFRY criminal code which are incompatible with a democratic and freedom-loving community in which the rights to free thinking and to freely expess opinions are among the most fundamental human rights. This call is prompted by the fact that political trials have always been both a legal and social anachronism. [passage omitted]

Croat Assembly Urges Political Prisoners Amnesty

LD0711184489 Belgralde TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Zagreb, 7 November (TANJUG)—Ljubo Drndic, a member of the Council of the Republic, today asked the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia to propose to the SFRY Assembly that on this year's Day of the Republic, 29 November, it should proclaim an amnesty for all the political prisoners in the country.

This proposal received unanimous support during the enlarged session today of the Croat Assembly Committee for Foreign Policy and Relations with Foreign Countries. This democratization action, it was agreed, would constitute an important condition for Yugoslavia's more equal cooperation in international relations.

During the committee meeting today, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke about the SFRY position on international developments and the directions of our country's foreign political activity following the Ninth Nonaligned Summit. By way of introduction, he made a favorable assessment of the current processes in international relations that differ from those in the cold war period and seek, in the process of further development, what is common to us. According to Loncar, this is also a reflection of the crises that are present—the crisis of socialism, the crisis of bloc doctrines, and the crisis in the development of newly-industrialized and developing countries.

Loncar referred especially to the integration developments in the world and in Europe, incipient reforms in the socialist countries, and the status and role of the nonaligned countries in the wake of the Ninth Summit. In this connection, he stressed that the updated Nonaligned Movement had confirmed the importance and the interest of the Third World in the events in the world and in the trends toward a new economic and social future.

During the next phase, the federal secretary of foreign affairs expects the following: consolidation of the process of demilitarization, consolidation of democratic aspirations in international relations, consolidation of human rights, awareness about our common need to protect the environment and of the struggle against the drugs and terrorism, and the consolidation of the economic integration processes.

Speaking of the link between domestic and foreign policy, Budimir Loncar said that the spread of democracy is an important condition for our country's cooperation in international relations on a more equal footing.

The enlarged session of the Croat Assembly Committee was attended by the top men of the Presidency, the Croat Assembly, the republican Executive Council, by representatives of republican sociopolitical organizations, and also by members of the Council of the Federation and the Council of the Republic.

During the afternoon, and within the framework of his visit, Budimir Loncar had a working meeting with Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, with Presidency members, and with Andjelko Runjic and Antun Milovic.

Montenegrin Writers Protest Bosnian TV Program

AU0611210889 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "A New Contribution to Political Dishonor"]

[Text] Titograd, 22 Oct—In Sarajevo Television's very popular political magazine program, "Black on White," which was broadcast on 19 November this year there was an item devoted to Montenegro and concerning the so-called "Letter of the Twenty" which was sent to the president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It would be natural to expect to see in this program an objective portrayal of the situation in Montenegro and the people's real attitude to this epistolary act which was assessed in our republic as subversive, fraudulent, and quite immoral—it is stressed in a letter of protest that the Presidium of the Montenegrin Writers Association has sent to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, and Sarajevo Television concerning the aforementioned program.

Sarajevo Television's item showed things in Montenegro in a topsy-turvy way, believes the Montenegrin writers leadership. Apart from the fact that some of the signatories of the aforementioned letter had been given the chance to impudently undermine the democratic processes in Montenegro on the screen by calling them the democracy of Pol Pot, Pinochet, and Stalin, a rigged survey was carried out among the citizens of Cetinje to support these stands.

"How do we live in a time of general manipulation when we know that even surveys like this one—with an idea established in advance—are nothing but a skillful fabrication of public opinion. According to everything that we heard and saw (apart from the appearance by a member of our association) it seemed that the Montenegrin people are supporting the Slovene amendments, but that only several of those in power stifle the will and feelings of the people and persecute their liberal minds."

The letter further states that Montenegrin writers do not understand the motives which led Sarajevo Television editors to surrender to such dishonorable work, which seriously harms the channel's standing in Montenegro. Therefore, we have only one proposal—that the editorial board of the "Black on White" political magazine program apologize to Montenegro in its next program, that is to say, to Montenegro's people and the whole Yugoslav television audience, because it has been giving them incorrect information.

New Serbian Government Tasks Discussed

LD0711162789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1520 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 7 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has proposed that the mandate for forming the republic's new government be given to Dr Stanko Radmilovic, member from the Province of Vojvodina of the League of Commnunists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency.

The new republican government is facing a major task—establishing a market economy, reducing the burden endured by the economy, cutting down on the administration and securing the functioning of a state based on the rule of law.

The Presidency has also decided to name Radmilovic a member of the Republican Presidency's Commission for Questions of Social Reform.

Philosophical Society on Serbian Elections

LD0711022889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0053 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 6 (TANJUG)—The Philosophical Society of Serbia has assessed that the forthcoming assembly elections in Yugoslavia's largest republic should be boycotted because it deems that the participation in the elections is rendered impossible for alternative and opposition candidates.

The Executive Board of the Society which rallies some of the top intellectuals in Yugoslavia's most populous republic asserted that three its candidates had been prevented from appearing on the elections lists that would be presented to the electorate. [sentence as received]

Among them were Dr Dragoljub Micunovic and Dr Kosta Cavoski who came into conflict with the authorities as far back as the students events in 1968.

Voters are coming out to the polls on Sunday, November 12.

In its letter carried on tomorrow's BORBA daily of Belgrade, the Philosophical Society sets forth the prerequisites for free and democratic elections. These are: A multi-party political pluralism, the abolition of "manipulated candidacy conferences," a free running of candidates, and peaceful gatherings to advocate candidates programme commitments and to win voters.

This was one more group, among alternative and opposition groups as they are called, to have voiced discontent with the electoral procedure in Serbia.

Last Friday, the Committee for the Defence of the Freedom of Thought and Expression in Belgrade sounded its assessment that the "upcoming elections will not be either democratic, or free, or elections at all" so that the elected delegates "can hardly be legitimate representatives of the people of Serbia."

Dissatisfied groups assert that they had intended for their delegates—in case of their having been elected to one of the Assembly of Serbia's three chambers—to act as the "democratic opposition which insists on significant political and social reforms."

Serbia Critical of Federal Anti-Inflation Moves

LD0711023189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0129 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 6 (TANJUG)—Measures of the economic policy so far undertaken have not removed the causes of inflation—it was assessed here today by the Economic Reform Commission of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's Republic Serbia.

The commission, presided over by President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, had not had one "good word" for the hitherto moves by the federal government and for its endeavour to suppress inflation by longer-term measures.

The acutely expressed appraisals had in their favour also a record high 48 percent inflation in September reaffirmed by an upswing of 45.6 percent in October. The annual rate (October 1988 to October 1989) of inflation amounted to 1,470 percent.

The commission also said in its announcement that the "mechanisms which drive enterprises to raise prices above average" were "still in power."

Especially exposed to sharp criticism were certain new solutions embodied in the law on foreign currency which were said to be creating two parallel money systems in Yugoslavia: a foreign currency system and a dinar system. In this way "the economic reform is being undermined" and the national currency depreciated.

The commission of the Presidency of Serbia points out that an adequate import policy must be a component part of the thorough anti- inflation programme. Among other things, it would be necessary to reduce extra-tariff and tariff protection for domestic producers, but domestic production should be simultaneously safeguarded from dumping-priced imports.

Listed among the major causes of inflation are the federal internal and external finances, a poor money-crediting policy and high deficits of the Federal State and of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. These are, as is said in the commissions announcement, the key causes for the permanent depreciation of the dinar and for high discount interest rates of the National Bank of Yugoslavia through which the deficits are being covered.

The commission of the Presidency of Serbia maintains that the key reasons for inflation cannot be removed without radical changes in the economic and political system. In this connection, indications are made concerning the disturbing slowness and lack of unity in the drawing up of a Yugoslav programme of thorough social reforms. The commission also holds that the programme of lowering inflation must be accompanied also by the corresponding social welfare measures.

Markovic Speaks on Market Economy 'D' Day

LD0711102689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2141 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 6 (TANJUG)—All preconditions have been created in Yugoslavia for constituting a market economy, Prime Minister Ante Markovic told some one hundred domestic businessmen and bankers here today. He added, however, that no 'D' Day had been fixed for market changes to take effect.

Markovic informed the businessmen and bankers of the successful outcome of recent talks in Belgrade with representatives of the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions, and said that there was every chance of agreement being reached by the end of the year.

Markovic announced that the economic policy for 1990 would be based on a reformed economic system and directed at curbing the rampant inflation, which has exceeded 1,400 percent.

His anti-inflationary programme is based on identifying all deficits and covering them with 'sound' money instead of fresh issues.

Markovic recalled that several systemic laws - those on foreign exchange, property relations and the taxation system - were yet to be adopted and that the inauguration of the money and stock market, scheduled for November 8, would create conditions for pursuing a policy of real interest rates to be formed on the basis of supply and demand of the banks' available funds.

The entry of the National Bank of Yugoslavia on the money and stock market will establish new relations between the Central Bank and the (?communal) banks, which will in future only meet through the market.

Markovic called the businessmen's attention to the forthcoming serious competition to socially-owned enterprises from private firms which will be permitted to engage in foreign trade as of December 1.

Domestic producers will also encounter competition from imported goods, for which 6.2 billion dollars has been made available. The [word indistinct] includes the foreign exchange reserves of 5.6 billion dollar, Markovic said.

He announced a new division of the income, based on financial results.

Ecological Protest Staged in Belgrade 4 Nov

LD0511063889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—About 100 people, members of the Belgrade Ecological Society, staged a protest meeting outside the republican assembly in Belgrade today. They accused the authorities of misinforming the public on the case of high radioactivity in Belgrade in August this year and called on the republican assembly to produce an official report on this case.